

Ant. G. N. C.
C. D. d.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

*Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.
Ille se profecisse sciat, cui C I C E R O valde placebit.*
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V O L. III.

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XXIX

XIX

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[1]

THE
HISTORY
OF
The LIFE of
M. TULLIUS CICERO.



SECT. IX.

CICERO was present at the death of Cæsar in the Senate; *where he had the pleasure, he tells us, to see the tyrant perish as he deserved* [o]. By this accident he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now without competition the first Citizen in *Rome*; the first in that credit and authority both with the Senate and People, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free City. The Conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend: for they had no sooner finished their work, than *Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on*

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

VOL. III.

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the

[o] Quid mihi attulerit ista
domini mutatio, præter læ-
titiâ, quam oculis cepi, iusto

interitu Tyranni? Ad Att.
14. 14.

A. Urb. 709. *the recovery of their liberty* [p]: and when they
 Cic. 63. all ran out presently after into the Forum, with
 Coff. their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty
 M. ANTONI- to the City, they proclaimed at the same time
 US. P. COR- *the name of Cicero*; in hopes to recommend the
 NELIUS Do- justice of their act, by the credit of his appro-
 LABELLA. bation [q].

THIS gave *Antony* a pretence to charge him afterwards in public, with *being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it* [r]: but it is certain, that he was not at all acquainted with it: for tho' he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit, to bear a part in an attempt of that nature; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their Leaders, were all either *too young* to be trusted, or *too obscure*, even to be known by him [s]. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the City, for having had no share in it, nor any personal interest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have

fug-

[p] Cæsare interfecto—statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, *Cicero-nem* nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip. 2. 12.

[q] Dio. p. 249.

[r] Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. [Phil. 2. 11.] Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti

ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisssem, molestus nobis non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

[s] Quam verisimile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Phil. 2. 11.

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suggested, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honor, he must have been often reproached with it by *Antony*, and his other adversaries of those times, who were so studious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depress his credit. I cannot however intirely acquit him of being in some degree accessory to the death of *Cæsar*: for it is evident from several of his Letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not onely expected, but wished it: he prophesied very early, *that Cæsar's reign could not last six months, but must necessarily fall, either by violence, or of itself; and hoped to live to see it [t]*: he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the City; which they expressed with great freedom in their Letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private conversation: he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius; and their impatience of a Master; and cultivated a strict Correspondence with them both at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigor. On the news, that Atticus sent him, *of Cæsar's image being placed in the Temple of Quirinus*, adjoining to that of the Goddess *Salus*; *I had rather, says he, have him the Comrade of Romulus, than of the Goddess Safety [u]*: referring to *Romulus's fate*, of being killed in the Senate. In another Letter it seems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt

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of

[t] Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse posse—nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus; nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse

est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se—id spero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

[u] Eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12. 15.

A. Urb. 709.

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of that kind, by setting before him the same and glory of his Ancestors: "Does Brutus then tell us, says he, that Cæsar brings with him glad tidings to honest men? where will he find them? unless he hangs himself. But how securely is he now intrenched on all sides? What use then of your fine invention; the picture of old Brutus and Ahala with the verses under, which I saw in your Gallery? Yet what after all can he do?" [x] One cannot help observing likewise, in his Pieces, addressed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind at the same time of *his double descent* from Ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory *by delivering Rome from servitude*. Thus he concludes his treatise *on famous Orators*.

" WHEN

[x] Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros *εὐαγγέλια*? sed ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur *φιλοτίχνημα* illud tuum quod vidi in *Parthenone*, Ahalam & Brutum? sed quid faciat? ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is supposed to denote some room or gallery in Brutus's, or more probably in Atticus's house, adorned with the Images or Portraits of the great men of *Rome*, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, [in vit. Att. c. 18.] Atticus had severally described their principal acts and honors, in four or five verses of his own composing: where the contemplation of these Figures

of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle perhaps to a conversation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited by the example of those great Ancestors to dissolve the tyranny of Cæsar. It seems also very probable, that this very picture of Atticus's invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that silver medal or *denarius*, which is still extant, with the heads and names of those two old Patriots; Brutus on the one side, Ahala on the other. Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

“ WHEN I look upon you, Brutus, I am
 “ grieved to see your youth, running, as it
 “ were, in full career through the midst of
 “ glory, stop’d short by the wretched fate of
 “ your Country. This grief sits heavy upon
 “ me, and on our common friend Atticus, the
 “ partner of my affection, and good opinion of
 “ you: we heartily wish you well; wish to see
 “ you reap the fruit of your virtue; and to
 “ live in a Republic, that may give you the
 “ opportunity, not onely to revive, but to in-
 “ crease the honor and memory of the two no-
 “ ble families, from which you descend-----for
 “ the Forum was wholly yours; yours all that
 “ course of glory: you, of all the young plea-
 “ ders, brought thither, not onely a tongue,
 “ ready formed by the exercise of speaking, but
 “ had enriched your Oratory by the furniture
 “ also of the severer arts; and by the help of
 “ the same arts had joined to a perfection of elo-
 “ quence the ornament of every virtue. We
 “ are doubly sorry therefore on your account,
 “ that you want the benefit of the Republic;
 “ the Republic of you: but though this odious
 “ ruin of the City extinguishes the use of your
 “ abilities, go on still, Brutus, to pursue your
 “ usual studies, &c.”

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THESE passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe, that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular counsils of the Conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony’s charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it; he calls it,
 “ the most glorious act, which had ever been

A. Urb. 109. “ done, not onely in that, but in any other
 Cic. 63. “ City : in which men were more forward to
 Coff. “ claim a share, which they had not, than to
 M. ANTONI- “ dissemble that which they had ; that Brutus’s
 vs. P. COR- “ reason for calling out upon him, was to sig-
 NELIUS DO- “ nify, that he was then emulating his praises,
 LABELLA. “ by an act, not unlike to what he had done :
 “ that if to wish Cæsar’s death was a crime, to
 “ rejoice at it was the same ; there being no
 “ difference between the adviser and the appro-
 “ ver ; yet excepting Antony and a few more,
 “ who were fond of having a King, that there
 “ was not a man in *Rome*, who did not desire
 “ to see the fact committed ; that all honest
 “ men, as far as it was in their power, concurred
 “ in it ; that some indeed wanted the counsil,
 “ some the courage, some the opportunity, but
 “ none the will to do it, &c. [y]”

THE news of this surprising fact raised a general consternation through the City ; so that the first care of the Conspirators was to quiet the minds of the people, by proclaiming peace and liberty to all, and declaring, that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out therefore in a body, with a *Cap*, as the *ensign of liberty*, carried before them on a *Spear* [z] ; and

[y] *Ecquis est igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, occasio defuit; voluntas nemini, &c.*
 Phil. 2. 12.

[z] A *Cap* was always given to *Slaves*, when they

were made free ; whence it became *the Emblem of liberty* : to expose it therefore on a *Spear*, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the destruction of their Tyrant. There was a Medal likewise struck on this occasion, with the same device, which is still extant. The thought however was not new ; for

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and in a calm and orderly manner proceeded through the Forum; where, in the first heat of joy for the death of the Tyrant, several of the young Nobility, who had born no part in the conspiracy, joined themselves to the company with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners *in the act*; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity, and without any share of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the rest. Brutus designed to have spoken to the Citizens from the *Rostra*; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humor might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of *Cæsar's old soldiers in the City, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war*, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of Decimus's Gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol [a]. Being here secured from any immediate violence, he summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, justified his act, and explained the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero presently followed them into the Capitol, with the best

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and

Saturninus, in his sedition, when he had possessed himself of the Capitol, exalted *a Cap also on the top of a Spear*, as a token of liberty to all the Slaves, who would join with him: and though Marius, in his sixth Consulship, destroyed him for that act, by a decree of the Senate, yet he

himself used the same expedient afterwards to invite the slaves to take arms with him against Sylla, who was marching with his army into the City to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

[a] App. 2. p. 503. Dio. p. 250. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

A. Urb. 709. and greatest part of the Senate, to deliberate on
 Cic. 63. the proper means of improving this hopefull be-
 Coff. ginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid
 M. ANTONI- and lasting foundation.

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ANTONY in the mean while, shocked by the hardness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, *stripped himself of his consular robes, and fled home in disguise; where he began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all that day [b];* till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in publick.

WHILE things were in this situation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to Cæsar, made a speech to the people in praise of the conspirators; extolling their act, as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the deliverers of their country; then throwing off his *Prætorian robe*, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him *by a Tyrant, and not by the laws.* But the next day, as he was going to the Senate, some of Cæsar's Veteran soldiers, having gathered a mob of the same party, attacked him in the streets with volleys of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with design to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops [c].

LEPIDUS was at this time in the suburbs of Rome, at the head of an army, ready to depart for

[b] Quæ tua fuga? quæ ex illa fuga—clam te domum formido præclaro illo die? recepisti. Phil. 2. 35. Vid. quæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitæ? cum Dio. p. 259. App. 502, 503. [c] Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

for the government of *Spain*, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar, with a part of *Gaul*.

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In the night therefore, after Cæsar's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of *making himself Master of the City, and taking immediate revenge on the Conspirators*: but being a weak and vain man, Antony easily diverted him from that design, and managed him to his own views: "He represented the hazard
" and difficulty of the attempt, while the Senate,
" the City, and all *Italy* were against them;
" that the only way to effect what they wished,
" was to dissemble their real purpose; to recommend pacific counsils, and lull their adversaries asleep, till they had provided a strength
" sufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon
" as things were ripe, he would join with him
" very heartily in avenging Cæsar's death." ---

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With these remonstrances he pacified him; and to render their union the firmer, and to humor his vanity at the same time, *gave his Daughter in marriage to Lepidus's Son, and assisted him to seize the High Priesthood*, vacant by Cæsar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election [d]. Having thus gained Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harass and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the Conspirators out of the City: and when he had served his purposes with him at home, contrived to send him to his government, to keep the Provinces and the Commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by sitting down with his army in the nearest part of *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in *Italy*.

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[d] Dio. p. 249, 250, 257, 269.

A. Urb. 709.

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THE Conspirators in the mean while had formed no scheme, *beyond the death of Cæsar*; but seemed to be as much surprized and amazed at what they had done, as the rest of the City: they trusted intirely to the integrity of their cause; fancying, that it would be sufficient of itself to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an universal concurrence to the defence of their common Liberty; and taking it for granted, that Cæsar's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any of his Partisans from aiming at the same power: they placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they assured themselves as their own, and were not disappointed; for from this moment he resolved at all adventures to support the credit of the men, and their act, as the onely means left of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their side; and, as long as force was removed, that they were Masters of the City: his advice therefore was, to use their present advantage, and in the consternation of Cæsar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, *that Brutus and Cassius, as Prætors, should call the Senate into the Capitol, and procede to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity* [e]. But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the Consul; and having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed *the sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace*: Cicero remonstrated against it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it: he told them plainly,

“ that

[e] Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera ef-

fici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.

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“ that there could be no safe treaty with him ; A. Urb. 709.
 “ that as long as he was afraid of them, he Cic. 63.
 “ would promise every thing ; but, when his Coss.
 “ fears were over, would be like himself, and M. ANTONI-
 “ perform nothing : so that while the other con- US. P. COR-
 “ sular Senators were going forwards and back- NELIUS DO-
 “ wards in this office of mediation, he stuck to LABELLA.
 “ his point, and staid with the rest in the Ca-
 “ pitol, and did not see Antony for the two
 “ first days [f].”

THE event confirmed what Cicero foretold :
 Antony had no thoughts of peace or of any good
 to the republic : his sole view was, to seize the
 government to himself, as soon as he should be
 in condition to do it ; and then on pretence of
 revenging Cæsar’s death, to destroy all those,
 who were likely to oppose him : as his business
 therefore was, to gain time by dissembling and
 deceiving the Republican party into a good opi-
 nion of him ; so all his answers were mild and
 moderate ; professing a sincere inclination to
 peace, and no other desire, than to see the Re-
 public settled again on it’s old basis. Two days
 passed in mutual assurances from both sides, of
 their disposition to concord and amity ; and
 Antony summoned the Senate on the third, to
 adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by
 some solemn act. Here Cicero, as the best founda-
 tion of a lasting quiet, moved the assembly in
 the first place, *after the example of Athens, to*
decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all
that was passed ; to which they unanimously a-
 greed.

[f] Dicebam illis in Ca- ac timere desisses, similem te
 pitolio liberatoribus nostris, futurum tui. Itaque cum
 cum me ad te ire vellent, ut cæteri Consulares irent, re-
 ad defendendam Rempub. te dirent, in sententia mansi :
 adhortarer, quoad metueres, neque te illo die, neque po-
 omnia te promissurum, simul stero vidi. Phil. 2. 35.

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greed. Antony seemed to be all goodness; talked of nothing, but healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, *that the Conspirators should be invited, to take part in their deliberations, and sent his Son as an Hostage for their safety*: upon which they all came down from the Capitol; and Brutus supped with Lepidus; Cassius with Antony; and the day ended to the universal joy of the City, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace [g].

THERE were several things however very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for *the confirmation of all Cæsar's acts*: this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explaine it, and specify how far it was to extend: he assured them, “ that no other acts were
“ meant, than what were known to every bo-
“ dy; and entered publicly on Cæsar's register:
“ they asked, if any persons were to be restored
“ from exil; he said, one only and no more:
“ whether any immunities were granted to Ci-
“ ties or Countries: he answered, none; and
“ consented, that it should pass with a restricti-
“ on,

[g] In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas: pax denique per eum & per libe-

ros ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est.—Phil.

1. 1.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia?—tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?—tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamus, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plutar. in Brut.—

“ on, proposed by Ser. Sulpicius; that no
 “ grant, which was to take place after the Ides
 “ of *March*, should be ratified [*b*]:” this was
 generally thought so reasonable, and Antony’s
 seeming candor had made such an impression,
 that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not
 venture to oppose it: especially as there was a
 precedent for it in the case of Sylla; and as it
 was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran sol-
 diers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or
 keep in good humor, without confirming the
 privileges and possessions, which Cæsar had gran-
 ted to them. But Brutus and his friends had
 private reasons for entertaining a better opinion
 of Antony, than his outward conduct would ju-
 stify: Cæsar had used him roughly on several
 occasions [*i*]; and they knew his resentment of
 it; *and that he had been engaged with Trebonius,*
on Cæsar’s last return from Spain, in a design a-
gainst his life: and tho he did not perform that
 engagement; yet they thought it an obligation,
 as well as a proof of his continuing in the same
 mind, *that he had not discovered it:* which was
 the reason of *their sparing him, when Cæsar was*
killed, and of Trebonius’s taking him aside, on
 pretence of business, lest his behaviour on that
 occasion might provoke them to kill him
 too [*k*].

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

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BUT

[*b*] Summa constantia ad
 ea, quæ quæsitæ erant, re-
 spondebat: nihil tum, nisi
 quod erat notum omnibus,
 in C. Cæsar’s commentariis
 reperiatur: num qui exules
 restituti? unum aiebat, præ-
 terea neminem. Num im-
 munitates datæ? nullæ, re-
 spondebat. Assentiri etiam

nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne
 qua tabula post Idus Martias
 ullius decreti Cæsar’s aut be-
 neficii figeretur. Phil. 1. 1.

[*i*] Philip. 2. 29.

[*k*] Quanquam si interfici
 Cæsarem voluisse crimen est,
 vide quæso, Antoni, quid
 tibi futurum sit, quem &
 Narbone hoc consilium cum
 C.

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BUT, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favor of *the veteran soldiers*, whom he had drawn up for that purpose in arms about the Senate [1]; and another still worse, for the allowance of a *public funeral to Cæsar*; which *Atticus had been remonstrating against both to Cicero and Brutus, as pernicious to the peace of the City*; but it was too late to prevent it; Antony was resolved upon it; and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty to defend their lives and houses from the violence of his mob [m]. In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribuns, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being mistaken unluckily for the Prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, *had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the Rostra*: this so alarmed all those, who had any similitude of name with any of the Conspirators, that Caius Casca, another Senator, thought fit by a *public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles*

C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, & ob ejus consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ib. 14.

[1] Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præsidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?

— Ad Att. 14. 14.

[m] Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque miserabiliter; servique & e-
gentes in testa nostra cum facibus immissi. Ad Att. 14. 10, 14. Plutar. in Brut.

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principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar [n].

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

WE are not to imagine however, as it is commonly believed, that these violences were owing to the general indignation of the Citizens, against the murderers of Cæsar; excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration: for it is certain, that Cæsar, thro' his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public signification of their favor; but on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection to him. The case was the same after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cassius the real favorites of the City; as appeared on all occasions, where-ever their free and genuin sense could be declared, in the public Shews and Theaters [o]; which Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honest men, to act with spirit and vigor, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, listed and prepared for violence, against

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a

[n] C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæsar's domum suam petens, populi manibus discerptus est, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem sævire se existimabat; iratus ei, quod cum affinis esset Cæsar's, adversus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro Rostris orationem habuisset. — Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio. p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

de Reipub. salute una & mente & voce consentiunt. Phil. 1. 9.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompeii statuæ plausus infinitus? quid iis Tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne hæc significant, incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

[o] Omnes enim jam cives

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a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counsils, and placing all their trust and security in the justice of their cause. Cicero calls it *a Conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen* [p], who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the *Jews* seem to have born a considerable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their City and Temple, were zealously attached to Cæsar, and, above all the other Foreigners in *Rome*, distinguished themselves, by the expressions of their grief for his death; *so as to spend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory* [q].

THIS first taste of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the Conspirators, what little reason they had to depend upon him; or to expect any safety in the City, where he had the sovereign command, without *a guard for their defence*; which, *though D. Brutus demanded for them*, they could not obtain: whilst Antony, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know, *that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe* [r]. They all therefore quitted *Rome*: Trebonius stole away privately for *Asia*, to take possession

[p] Nam ista quidem libertorum Cæsaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

[q] In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, suo quæque more, lamentata est, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæs. 84.

[r] Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius

esset, demonstravit, pessima scilicet & infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitados animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere — placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romæ publico præsidio: quod illos nobis concessuros non puto --- Ep. fam. xi. 1.

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possession of that province, which had before been assigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony: D. Brutus, for the same reason, possessed himself of *the Cisalpine or Italic Gaul*, which had been conferred upon him likewise by Cæsar, in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to *Rome*, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. Brutus, accompanied by Cassius, retired to one of his villa's near *Lanuvium*, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take such measures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies should make necessary.

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BUT as soon as the Conspirators were gone, Antony resumed his Mask, and as if the late violences had been accidental onely, and the sudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of Brutus and Cassius; and by several seasonable acts, proposed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart, as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, *to abolish for ever the name and office of Dictator*: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the Senate; who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, *had fixed an indelible infamy by it on Cæsar, in declaring to the world, that for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular* [s].

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C

CICERO

[s] Dictaturam, quæ vim rat, funditùs e Repub. sustu-
jam regis potestatis obsede- lit. De qua ne sententias
quidem

A. Urb. 109.

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CICERO also left *Rome* soon after Brutus and Cassius [*t*], not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, *that the Ides of March had produced nothing, which pleased him, but the fact of the day; which was executed indeed with manly vigor, but supported by childish counsils* [*u*]. As he passed thro' the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great Towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "it is impossible to express," says he, what joy there is every where: how all people flock about me: how greedy they are to hear an account of it from me: yet what strange politics do we pursue? What a solecism do we commit? To be afraid of those, whom we have subdued; to defend his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer Tyranny to live, when the Tyrant is killed; and the Republic to be lost, when our liberty is recovered [*x*]."

ATTICUS

quidem diximus — eique amplissimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus — maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen sustulisti: hæc inusta est a te — mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam, &c. Phil. 1. 1, 13.

[*t*] Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Ad Brut. 15.

[*u*] Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus martias. [Ad Att. 14. 6, 21]

itaque stulta jam Iduum martiarum est consolatio. Animi enim usi sumus virilibus consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

[*x*] Dici enim non potest, quantopere gaudeant, ut a me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re — sic enim πεπολιδέμεθα, victos metueremus — nihil enim tam σόλοικον, quam πρᾶννοκτόνους in cælo esse Tyranni facta defendi — Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannus, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, ejus facta defendimus — ib. 9.

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ATTICUS sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given to the famed Comedian, Publius, for what he had said upon the stage, in favor of the public liberty; and that L. Cassius, the brother of the Conspirator, then one of the Tribuns, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the Theater [y]: which convinced him onely the more of the mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and as far as possible, to persuade the City, that he was on the same side too: for which end he did another thing at this time both prudent and popular, in putting to death the Impostor Marius, who was now returned to Rome, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman Cæsar: where signalizing himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief Incendiary at the Funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatened nothing less than destruction to the whole Senate: but Antony, having served his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the rest out of the City, ordered him to be seized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the Streets [z]: which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans; so that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction [a].

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[y] Ex priore Theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero, L. Cassio datus facetus mihi quidem videtur. Ad Att. 14. 2.
Infinito fratris tui plausu dirumpitur. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

[z] Uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaserat. Phil. 1. 2.
[a] Antonii colloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

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By these arts Antony hoped to amuse the Conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsils; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving *Italy*, and seizing some provinces abroad, furnished with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offensively: with the same view he wrote an artful Letter to Cicero, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been several years in banishment, for outrages committed in the City; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the Tutor of young Publius, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He assures Cicero, "that he had
 "procured a pardon for S. Clodius from Cæ-
 "sar; but did not intend to have made use of
 "it, till he had obtained his consent; and tho'
 "he thought himself now obliged to support
 "all Cæsar's acts; yet he would not insist on
 "this against his leave — that it would be
 "an obligation to young Publius, a youth of
 "the greatest hopes, to let him see, that Cicero
 "did not extend his revenge to his Father's
 "friends — permit me, says he, to instill
 "these sentiments into the boy; and to per-
 "suade his tender mind, that quarrels are not
 "to be perpetuated in families: and tho' your
 "condition, I know, is superior to all danger
 "yet you would chuse, I fancy, to enjoy a quiet
 "and honorable, rather than a turbulent old
 "age — lastly, I have a sort of right to ask the
 "favor of you; since I never refused any thing
 "to you: if I do not however prevail with

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“ you, I will not grant it to Clodius ; that you
 “ may see how great your authority is with me :
 “ shew yourself the more placable on that ac-
 “ count [b].”

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
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CICERO never hesitated about giving his consent, to what Antony *could and would have done without it* : “ the thing itself, he knew, was
 “ scandalous ; and the pardon said to be grant-
 “ ed by Cæsar, a forgery ; and that Cæsar
 “ would never have done it, or suffered it to be
 “ done ; and so many forgeries of that kind be-
 “ gan to be published every day from Cæsar’s
 “ books, that he was almost tempted, he says,
 “ to wish for Cæsar again [c].” He answered him however with great civility ; and in a strain of complaisance, which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the man : but Antony’s public behaviour had merited some compliments : and under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe *all the forms of an old acquaintance with him* ; till by some *overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy* [d].

C 3

ANTONY

[b] Ad Att. 14. after Letter the 13th.

[c] Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione S. Clodii : quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognosces—quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis : quæ enim Cæsar nunquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem

Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit in animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

[d] Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo. Ep. fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum Republicæ bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

A. Urb. 709.

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ANTONY made him but a cold reply ; having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of something which did not please him in his conduct. He told him onely, *that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to him, and might hereafter be a great pleasure to himself [e].*

CLEOPATRA, *the Queen of Egypt, was in Rome when Cæsar was killed ; but being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent disorders of the City, she ran away presently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæsar, in whose house she was lodged, made her insolence intolerable to the Romans ; whom she seems to have treated on the same foot with her own Egyptians ; as the subjects of absolute power, and the slaves of a Master, whom she commanded. Cicero had a conference with her in Cæsar's gardens ; where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disoblinded him the more by not performing it : he does not tell us what it was ; but from the hints which he drops, it seems to have been statues or curiosities from Egypt, for the ornament of his Library ; a sort of furniture, which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by Cæsar's fate, she was now forced to apply to him by her Ministers for his assistance in a particular suit, that she was recommending to the Senate, in which he refused to be concerned. The affair seems to have related to her Infant Son, whom she pretended to be Cæsar's, and called by his name ; and was laboring to get*

[e] Antonius ad me tantum sibi esse gratam, & mihi magis de Clodio rescripsit, meam nã voluptati fore. Ad Att. lenitatem & clementiam & 14. 19.

[f] quasi p
trocin
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Sueton
p. 227
[g]

him acknowledged as such at Rome, and declared the Heir of her Kingdom; as he was the year following, both by Antony and Octavius; though Cæsar's friends were generally scandalized at it, and Oppius thought it worth while to write a book, to prove, that the child could not be Cæsar's [f]. Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæsar into the East, in order to preserve her influence over him, which was very great: for after his death Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribuns, owned, *that he had a law ready prepared and delivered to him by Cæsar, with orders to publish it, as soon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition he thought fit, for the sake of propagating children* [g]. This was contrived probably to save Cleopatra's honor, and to legitimate his issue by her; since polygamy, and the marriage of a stranger, were prohibited by the laws of Rome.

CICERO touches these particulars in several places, tho' darkly and abruptly, according to the stile of his Letters to Atticus. "The flight of the Queen, says he, gives me no pain. I should be glad to hear, what farther news there is of her, and her young Cæsar. I hate the Queen: her Agent, Ammonius, the witness and sponsor of her promises to me, knows that I have reason: they were things onely proper for a man of letters, and suitable to

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[f] Quorum C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocínio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæs. 52. vid. Dio. p. 227, 345.

[g] Helvius Cinna—con-

fessus est, habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæsar ferre jussisset cum ipse abesset, ut uxores liberorum quærendorum causa, quas & quot ducere vellet, liceret. Suet. ib. Dio. 243.

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“ my character ; so that I should not scruple
 “ to proclame them from the Rostra. Her
 “ other Agent, Sara, is not onely a rascal, but
 “ has been rude to me. I never saw him at my
 “ House but once ; and when I asked him ci-
 “ villy, what commands he had for me, he said,
 “ that he came to look for Atticus. As to the
 “ pride of the Queen, when I saw her in the
 “ Gardens, I can never think of it without re-
 “ sentment : I will have nothing therefore to
 “ do with them : they take me to have neither
 “ spirit, nor even feeling left [b].”

ANTONY having put his affairs into the best
 train that he could, and appointed *the first* of
 June for a meeting of the Senate, in order to
 deliberate on the state of the Republic, took the
 opportunity of that interval to make a progress
 thro’ *Italy*, for the sake of visiting the quarters
 of the veteran soldiers, and engaging them to
 his service, by all sorts of bribes and promises.
 He left the government of the City to Dolabel-
 la, whom Cæsar, upon his intended expedition
 to *Parthia*, had designed and nominated to the
 Consulship : and though Antony had protested
 against that designation, and resolved to ob-
 struct its effect, yet after Cæsar’s death, when

Dolabella,

[b] *Reginæ fuga mihi non molesta* [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Regina velim, atque etiam de Cæsare illo. [ib. 20.] Regi-
 nam odi. Me jure facere scit
 sponsor promissorum ejus
 Ammonius ; quæ quidem e-
 rant *φιλόλοιο*, & dignitatis
 meæ, ut vel in concione di-
 cere auderem. Saram autem,
 præterquam quod nefarium
 hominem cognovi, præterea
 in me contumacem. Semel

eum omnino domi meæ vidi.
 Cum *φιλοφρένως* ex eo quæ-
 rerem, quid opus esset, Atti-
 cum se dixit quærere. Su-
 perbiam autem ipsius Reginæ,
 cum esset trans Tiberim in
 hortis, commemorare sine
 magno dolore non possum.
 Nihil igitur cum istis : nec
 tam animum me, quam vix
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 tur. Ib. 15. 15.

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Dolabella, by the advantage of the general confusion, seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the habit and character of the Consul, Antony quietly received, and acknowledged him as such at the next meeting of the Senate [i].

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CICERO had always kept up a fair correspondence with his son in law, tho' he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reason than ever for insinuating himself, as far as he was able, into his confidence; in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the Republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his colleague Antony; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed these hopes; and as soon as Antony had left the City, made all honest men think themselves sure of him, by exerting a most severe, as well as seasonable act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by the Impostor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæsar, had erected an altar in the Forum, on the spot where Cæsar's body was burnt; with a Pillar of Numidian Marble, twenty feet high, inscribed TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Here they performed daily sacrifices and divine rites; and the humor of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner sort, and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the City: for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets committing all sorts of outrage and violence against

[i] Tuum Collegam, depositis inimicitiiis, oblitus aspicias, te ipso Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi esse voluisti—Phil. 1. 13.

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against the supposed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an end to the evil at once, by *demolishing the Pillar, and the Altar, and seizing the authors of the disorders; and causing such of them, as were free, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, and the slaves to be crucified.* This gave an universal joy to the City: the whole body of the people *attended the Consul to his house; and in the Theaters gave him the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations [k].*

CICERO was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was generally imputed to the influence of his counsils: in a Letter upon it to Atticus; “O my admirable Dolabella! says he, I now call him mine; for, believe me, I had some doubt of him before: the fact affords matter of great speculation: *to throw them down the Rock; to crucify; demolish the Pillar; pave the area;* in short, it is heroic. He has extinguished all appearance of that regret for Cæsar, which was spreading every day so fast, that I began to apprehend some danger to our Tyrant-killers: but I now agree with you, and conceive better hopes, &c. [l]. Again; O the
“ brave

[k] Plebs—postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit, scripsitque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam, interposito per Cæsarem iurejurando, diltrahere perseveravit. Suet. J. Cæs. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, & ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem & urbi & otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum—& quotidie magis magisque perditii homines, cum sui similibus servis, tectis & templis urbis minarentur; talis animadversio fuit Dolabellæ, cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros & nefarios cives, talisque everfio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Phil. 1. 2.—recordare, quæso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri—vid. ib. 12.

[l] Ad Att. 14. 15.

[m] Ο
εἰσελάω!
πῶς? ε
& horta
quidem
jam vel

“ brave act of Dolabella ! what a prospect does
 “ it give us ? I never cease praising and exhort-
 “ ing him — our Brutus, I dare say, might
 “ now walk safely through the Forum, with a
 “ crown of gold upon his head : for who dares
 “ molest him, when *the rock or the cross* is to
 “ be their fate ? and when the very lowest of
 “ the people give such proofs of their applause
 “ and approbation [*m*] ?” He wrote at the same
 time from *Baiæ* the following Letter to Dola-
 bella himself.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

CICERO TO DOLABELLA Consul.

“ THOUGH I was content, my Dolabella,
 “ with your glory, and reaped a sufficiency of
 “ pleasure from it, yet I cannot but own, that
 “ it gives me an inexpressible joy, to find the
 “ world ascribing to me also some share in your
 “ praises. I have met with no body here, tho’
 “ I see so much company every day (for there
 “ are many worthy men now at this place for
 “ the sake of their health, and many of my ac-
 “ quaintance from the great towns) who, after
 “ extolling you to the skies, does not give
 “ thanks presently to me ; not doubting, as
 “ they all say, but it is by my precepts and ad-
 “ vice, that you now shew yourself to be this
 “ admirable Citizen, and singular Consul : and
 “ though I could assure them with great truth,
 “ that what you are doing flows wholly from
 “ yourself and your own judgment, and that
 “ you

[*m*] O Dolabellæ nostri ἀ-
 εἰς εἰς ! quanta est ἀναδυσ-
 ρησις ? equidem laudare eum
 & hortari non desisto—mihi
 quidem videtur Brutus noster
 jam vel coronam auream per

forum ferre posse : quis enim
 audeat violare, proposita cruce
 aut saxo ? præsertim tantis
 plaufibus, tanta approbatione
 infimorum ? ib. 16.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ you want not the advice of any one ; yet I
 “ neither wholly assent, lest I should derogate
 “ from your merit, by making it seem to pro-
 “ ceede from my counsil ; nor do I strongly de-
 “ ny it, being myself perhaps more greedy of
 “ glory, than I ought to be. But that can ne-
 “ ver be a diminution to you, which was an
 “ honor even to Agamemnon, the King of
 “ Kings, to have a Nestor for his counsellor ;
 “ while it will be glorious to me, to see a young
 “ Consul, the scholar, as it were, of my disci-
 “ pline, flourishing in the midst of applause.
 “ L. Cæsar, when I visited him lately sick at
 “ *Naples*, though oppressed with pain in every
 “ part of his body, yet before he had even sa-
 “ luted me, could not forbear crying out, O
 “ my Cicero ! I congratulate with you on ac-
 “ count of the authority, which you have with
 “ Dolabella ; for if I had the same credit with
 “ my Sister’s Son, Antony, we should all now
 “ be safe : but as to your Dolabella, I both
 “ congratulate with him, and thank him ; since
 “ from the time of your Consulship, he is the
 “ onely one, whom we can truly call a Consul :
 “ he then enlarged upon your act, and the man-
 “ ner of it ; and declared, that nothing was
 “ ever greater, nothing nobler, nothing more
 “ salutary to the state : and this indeed is the
 “ common voice of all. Allow me therefore,
 “ I beg of you, to take some share, tho’ it be
 “ a false one, in the possession of another man’s
 “ glory ; and admit me in some degree into a
 “ partnership of your praises. But to be serious,
 “ my Dolabella, for hitherto I have been jo-
 “ king, I would sooner transfer all the credit
 “ that I have to you, if I really have any, than
 “ rob you of any part of yours : for as I have
 “ always

“ always had that sincere affection for you, to
 “ which you have been no stranger, so now I
 “ am so charmed by your late conduct, that no
 “ love was ever more ardent. For, believe
 “ me, there is nothing after all more engaging,
 “ nothing more beautiful, nothing more love-
 “ ly than virtue. I have ever loved M. Brutus,
 “ you know, for his incomparable parts, sweet
 “ disposition, singular probity, and firmness of
 “ mind: yet on the Ides of *March*, such an ac-
 “ cession was made to my love, that I was sur-
 “ prized to find any room for increase in that,
 “ which I had long ago taken to be full and
 “ perfect. Who could have thought it possi-
 “ ble, that any addition could be made to my
 “ love of you? Yet so much has been added,
 “ that I seem but now at last to love, before
 “ to have onely esteemed you. What is it
 “ therefore that I must now exhort you to? Is
 “ it to pursue the path of dignity and glory?
 “ And as those do, who use to exhort, shall I
 “ propose to you the examples of eminent men?
 “ I can think of none more eminent than your
 “ self. You must imitate therefore yourself;
 “ contend with yourself; for after such great
 “ things done, it would be a disgrace to you
 “ not to be like yourself. Since this then is the
 “ case, there is no occasion to exhort, but to
 “ congratulate with you: for that has happened
 “ to you, which scarce ever happened to any
 “ man, that by the utmost severity of punish-
 “ ing, instead of acquiring odium, you are be-
 “ come popular; and not onely with the better
 “ sort, but the very meanest of the City. If
 “ this was owing to fortune, I should congra-
 “ tulate your felicity; but it was owing to the
 “ greatness of your courage, as well as of your
 “ parts

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ parts and wisdom. For I have read your
 “ speech to the people: nothing was ever more
 “ prudent: you enter so deliberately and gra-
 “ dually into the reason of your act, and retire
 “ from it so artfully, that the case itself, in the
 “ opinion of all, appears to be ripe for punish-
 “ ment. You have freed us therefore both from
 “ our danger and our fears, and have done an
 “ act of the greatest service, not onely to the
 “ present times, but for the example of it also
 “ to posterity. You are to consider, that the
 “ Republic now rests upon your shoulders; and
 “ that it is your part, not onely to protect, but
 “ to adorn those men, from whom we have re-
 “ ceived this beginning of our liberty: but of
 “ this we shall talk more fully when we meet
 “ again, as I hope we shall shortly: in the mean
 “ while, since you are now the common guar-
 “ dian both of the Republic and of us all, take
 “ care, my dear Dolabella, that you guard
 “ more especially your own safety [n].”

IN this retreat from *Rome* he had a mind to
 make an excursion to *Greece*, and pay a visit to
 his Son at *Athens*, whose conduct did not please
 him, and seemed to require *his presence to reform*
and set it right [o]. But the news of Dolabella's
 behaviour, and the hopes which it gave of gain-
 ing the *onely thing that was wanted, a Head and*
Leader of their cause, armed with the authority
 of the state, made him resolve to stay at least
 till after *the first of June*, lest his absence should
 be interpreted as a kind of desertion: nor did he
 ever intend indeed to leave *Italy*, till he could

[n] Ep. fam. 9. 14.

[o] Quod sentio valde esse
 utile ad confirmationem Ci-
 ceronis, me illuc venire. [AdAtt. 14. 13.] magni interest
 Ciceronis, vel mea potius,
 vel mehercule utriusque, me
 intervenire discenti. Ib. 16.

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[p] I

habitu

Municip

rant. Ib

Nec

do it without censure, and to the full satisfaction of Brutus, whom he was determined never to desert on any occasion [p].

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

HE had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the opposite party; the late Ministers of Cæsar's power; Panfa, Hirtius, Balbus, Matius, &c. But Cæsar's death, on which their sentiments were very different from his, had in great measure broken their former confidence: and tho' the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he easily perceived that they were utterly displeased with it, and seemed to want an occasion of revenging it. Panfa and Hirtius, as has been said, were nominated by Cæsar to the consulship of the next year; and as Cæsar's acts were ratified by the Senate, were to succede to it of course. This made Brutus and Cassius press Cicero earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the Republican side; but especially Hirtius, whom they most suspected. But Cicero seems to have had little hopes of success; his account of them to Atticus is,
"That there was not one of them who did not
"dread peace more than war; that they were
"perpetually lamenting the miserable end of so
"great a man; and declaring, that the Repub-
"lic was ruined by it; that all his acts would
"be made void, as soon as peoples fears were
"over; and that clemency was his ruin; since,
"if it had not been for that, he could not have
"perished in such a manner: and of Hirtius in
"particular; he warmly loves him, says he,
"whom

[p] Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique desiderant. Ib. 20.

cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero. Ib. 15.
—vid. 16, 13.

Nec vero discedam, nisi

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“whom Brutus stabbed: as to their desiring me
“to make him better, I am doing my endea-
“vour: he talks very honestly, but lives with
“Balbus; who talks honestly too: how far
“they are to be trusted, you must consider [q].”

BUT of all this set of men, Matius was the
most open and explicit, in condemning the act
of the Conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of
humor with him, as a man irreconcilable to the
liberty of the Republic. Cicero called upon
him on his way from *Rome* into the Country,
and found him sullen, desponding, and forebo-
ding nothing but wars and desolation, as the
certain consequence of Cæsar’s death. Among
other particulars of their conversation, Matius
told him something which Cæsar had lately said
both of him and Brutus; that he used to say of
Brutus, “it was of great consequence which
“way he stood inclined, since whatever he had
“a mind to, he pursued with an impetuous
“eagerness: that he had remarked this of him
“more especially, in his pleading for Deiotar-
“rus at *Nicæa*; where he spoke with a sur-
“prizing vehemence and freedom: and of
“Cicero, that when he was attending Cæsar,
“in the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him
“fitting

[q] Minime enim obscu-
rum est, quid isti moliantur:
meus vero discipulus, qui
hodie apud me cœnat, valde
amat illum, quem Brutus no-
ster sauciavit, & si quæris,
perspexi enim plane, timent
otium. ὑπόθεσιν autem hanc
habent, eamque præ se fe-
runt, virum clarissimum in-
terfectum, totam Rempub.
illius interitu perturbatam:
irrita fore, quæ ille egisset,

simul ac desistemus timere.
Clementiam illi malo fuisse:
qua si usus non esset, nihil
illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad
Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me me-
liorem fieri volunt, do equi-
dem operam, & ille optime
loquitur, sed vivit habitatque
cum Balbo: qui item bene
loquitur. Quid credas vide-
ris. Ib. 20, 21.

[r] De
frem fol
refert hi
quicquid
Idque er
cum pro
dixerit,
cum visu
Atque et
Sestii rog
am, exp
quoad vo

“ sitting in the room, and waiting till he was called, said; can I doubt of my being extremely odious, when Cicero sits waiting, and cannot get access to me: yet if any man be easy enough to forgive it, it is he, though I do not question, but that he really hates me [r].”

THERE were several reasons however, which made it necessary to these men, to court Cicero at this time as much as ever: for if the Republic happened to recover itself, he was of all men the most capable to protect them on that side: if not, the most able to assist them against Antony, whose designs and success they dreaded still more: for if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the sake of Cæsar, to prefer his Heir and Nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa therefore very assiduous in their observance of him: they spent a great part of the summer with him at different times in his Villa's, giving him the strongest assurances of their good intentions, and disposition to peace, *and that he should be the Arbiter of their future Consulship*: and though he continued still to have some distrust of Hirtius, yet Pansa wholly persuaded him, that he was sincere [s].

VOL. III.

D

BRUTUS

[r] De Bruto nostro—Cæ-
sarem solitum dicere. Magni
refert hic quid velit: sed
quicquid vult, valde vult.
Idque eum animadvertisse
cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ
dixerit, valde vehementer
eum visum, & libere dicere.
Atque etiam proxime cum
Sestii rogatu apud eum fuisset,
expectaremque sedens
quoad vocarer, dixisse eum;

ego dubitem quin summo in
odio sim, cum M. Cicero
sedeat, nec suo commodo me
convenire possit? Atqui si
quisquam est facilis, hic est:
tamen non dubito, quin me
male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

[s] Cum Pansa vixi in
Pompeiano. Is plane mihi
probatat, se bene sentire &
cupere pacem, &c. Ad Att.
14. 20. it. 15. 1.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 109.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

BRUTUS and Cassius continued still near *Lanuvium*, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's *Villa at Astura*, of which, at Cicero's desire, they sometimes made use [*t*]: being yet irresolute, what measures they should take; they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer; and waiting particularly to see what humor the Consuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themselves and the Republic: and since they were driven from the discharge of their *Prætorship* in the City, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition, and declared, "that their conduct should give
 "no handle for a civil war; and that they
 "would submit to a perpetual exile, if it would
 "contribute in any manner to the public concord, being content with the consciousness of
 "their act, as the greatest honor which they
 "could enjoy [*u*]." Their present design was to come to *Rome* on the first of June, and take their places in the Senate, if it should be thought adviseable; or to present themselves at least in the *Rostra*, and try the affections of the people for whom Brutus was preparing a speech. They sent to know Cicero's opinion of this project with the copy also of that speech which Brutus

[*t*] Velim mehercule *Asturæ* Brutus. [Ad Att. 14. 11.] Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo: modo & libenter fuerit & fat diu. Ib. 15. 3.

[*u*] Testati edictis, libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum Reipub. constaret concordia, nec ullam

belli civilis præbituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti &c. [Vell. P. 2. 62.] Edictum Bruti & Cassii probatum [Ad Att. 14. 20.] De quibus tu bonam spem te habere significas propter edictorum humanitatem. Ib. 15. 1.

[*x*] A

made in the Capitol on the day of Cæsar's death, begging his revisal and correction of it, in order to it's being published. Cicero, in his account of it

to Atticus, says, "the Oration is drawn with the utmost elegance both of sentiments and style; yet were I to handle the subject, I should work it up with more fire. You know the character of the speaker: for which reason I could not correct it. For in the style, in which our friend would excell, and according to the idea, which he has formed of the best manner of speaking, he has succeeded so well, that nothing can be better: but whether I am in the right or the wrong, I am of a quite different tast. I wish however, that you would read it, if you have not already, and let me know what you think of it: though I am afraid, lest through the prejudice of your name, you should shew too much of the *Attic* in your judgement: yet if you remember the thunder of Demosthenes, you will perceive, that the greatest force may consist with the perfection of *Attic* elegance [x]."

ATTICUS did not like the speech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion; and begged of Cicero to draw up another to be published in *Brutus's* name: but Cicero would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing, that *Brutus* would take it ill [y]. In one of his Letters on the subject, "Though you think me in the

wrong, says he, to imagine, that the Republic depends on Brutus, the fact is certainly so: there will either be none at all, or it will be saved by him and his accomplices.

D 2

"As

[x] Ad Att. 15. 1.

[y] Ib. 3. 4.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DE-
LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ As to your urging me to write a speech for
 “ him, take it from me, my Atticus, as a ge-
 “ neral rule, which by long experience I have
 “ found to be true, that there never was a Poet
 “ or Orator, who thought any one preferable
 “ to himself: this is the case even with bad
 “ ones: what shall we think then of Brutus,
 “ who has both wit and learning? especially
 “ after the late experiment of him, in the case
 “ of the edict: I drew up one for him at your
 “ desire: I liked mine; he his: besides, when
 “ at his earnest sollicitation I addressed to him
 “ my Treatise on the *best manner of speaking*, he
 “ wrote word, not only to me, but to you too,
 “ that the kind of eloquence which I recom-
 “ mended, did not please him. Let every one
 “ therefore compose for himself — I wish only
 “ that it may be in his power to make a speech
 “ at all; for if ever he can appear again with
 “ safety at *Rome*, we have gained the victo-
 “ ry [z].”

IN this interval a new Actor appear'd on the stage, who, tho' hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all peoples eyes towards him, *the young Octavius*, who was left by his uncle Cæsar, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent a few months before to *Apollonia*, a celebrated Academy, or school of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for his uncle on his way to the *Parthian* war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of Cæsar's death soon brought him back to *Italy*, to try what fortunes he could carve for himself by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at *Naples* on the *eighteenth* of April, whither Balbus went the next

next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero near *Cumæ*, having first conducted Octavius to the adjoining Villa of his Father in law Philip: Hirtius and Panfa were with Cicero at the same time, to whom they immediately presented Octavius with the strongest professions on the part of the young man, *that he would be governed intirely by his direction* [a.]

THE sole pretension, which he avowed at present, was, to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it: but this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above *eighteen years* old: for the Republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest with the inheritance of the Estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and already seized the effects, lest by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. The mother therefore and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him to *suspend his claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name*, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it *base and infamous to think himself unworthy of a name, of which Cæsar had thought him worthy* [b]: and there were many

D 3

about

[a] Octavius Neapolim venit a. d. XIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postredie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad Att. 14.10] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Panfa. Modo venit Octavius, & quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus. lb. 11.

[b] Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris — spreuit cœlestis animus humana consilia — dictitans nefas esse, quo nomine Cæsari dignus esset visus, si bimetipsum videri indignum. Vell. P. 2. 60.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the City, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him; so that he was on fire to be at *Rome*, and to enter into action; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

BEFORE he left the country, Cicero speaking of him to Atticus, says, "Octavius is still
" with us, and treats me with the greatest respect and friendship: his domestics give him
" the name of Cæsar: Philip does not; nor for that reason do I. It is not possible for him,
" in my opinion, to make a good Citizen;
" there are so many about him, who threaten
" the death of our friends: they declare, that
" what they have done can never be forgiven.
" What will be the case, think you, when the
" boy comes to *Rome*, where our deliverers
" cannot shew their heads? who yet must ever
" be famous, nay, happy too, in the consciousness of their act: but as for us, unless I am
" deceived, we shall be undone. I long therefore to go abroad, where I may hear no more
" of these *Pelopidæ*, &c. [c]."

As soon as Octavius came to *Rome*, he was produced to the people by one of the Tribuns, and made a speech to them from *the Rostra*, which

[c] Nobiscum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius: quem quidem sui Cæsarem salutabant, Philippus non; itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem, ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri posse. Quid

censes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? qui quidem semper erunt clari; conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati: sed nos, nisi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum—
ad Att. 14. 12.

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nobis

which was now generally possessed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making use of the advantage, to inflame the mob against him: "Remember, says Cicero, what I tell you: this custom of seditious harangues is so much cherished, that those *Heroes of ours, or rather Gods*, will live indeed in immortal glory, yet not without envy, and even danger: their great comfort however is, the consciousness of a most glorious act: but what comfort for us, who when our King is killed, are not yet free? But fortune must look to that, since reason has no sway — [d]."

OCTAVIUS seconded his speech, by what was like to please the inferior part of the City much better; the representation of *public shews and plays, in honor of his uncle's victories*. Cæsar had promised and prepared for them in his lifetime; but those whom he had entrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, as his heir and representative, undertook the affair, as devolved of course upon himself [e]. In these shews Octavius brought out the *Golden Chair*, which among the other honors decreed to Cæsar when living, was ordered to be placed in the *Theaters and Circus, as to a Deity*, on all solemn occasions [f]. But the *Tribuns ordered the Chair to be taken away*, upon which the body of the

D 4 Knights

A. Urb. 709:
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

[d] Sed memento, sic alitur consuetudo perditurum concionum, ut nostri illi non Heroes, sed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem: verum illis magna consolatio, conscientia maximi & clarissimi facti: nobis quæ, qui interfecto

Rege liberi non sumus? Sed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

[e] Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsar's non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipse edidit—Suet. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

[f] Dio. 44. 243.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
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LABELLA.

Knights testified their applause by a general clap. Atticus sent an account of this to Cicero, which was very agreeable to him [g]: but he was not at all pleased with Octavius's conduct, since it indicated a spirit determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of Cæsar: and he was the less pleased to hear also, *that Matius had taken upon him the care of these shews* [b]; since it confirmed the suspicion, which he had before conceived of Matius; and made him apprehensive, that he would be an ill Counsellor to young Octavius, in which light he seems to have represented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius, of Cicero's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from Cicero, and the answer to it from Matius; which is deservedly valued, not onely for the beauty of its sentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name and character, which was almost lost to History, of a most esteemed and amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with Cæsar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

CICERO takes pains to persuade Matius, that he had said nothing of him, but what was consistent with the strictest friendship; and to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgement of Matius's perpetual civilities, and observance of him thro' life, even when in the heighth of his

power

[g] De Sella Cæsaris, bene
Tribuni. Præclaros etiam
xiv. ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

[b] Ludorum ejus appara-

tus, & Matius ac Postumius
procuratores non placent. Ad
Att. 15. 2.

power and credit with Cæsar: but when he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes onely in general, “That as Matius’s dignity exposed every thing which he did to public notice, so the malice of the world interpreted some of his acts more hardly than they deserved: that it was his care always to give the most favorable turn to them — but you, says he, a man of the greatest learning, are not ignorant; that if Cæsar was in fact a King, as I indeed look upon him to have been, there are two ways of considering the case of your duty: either that, which I commonly take, of extolling your fidelity and humanity, in shewing so much affection even to a dead friend; or the other, which some people use; that the liberty of our Country ought to be preferred to the life of any friend. I wish that you had heard with what zeal I used to defend you in these conversations: but there are two things especially, that make the principal part of your praise, which no man speaks of more frequently or more freely than I; that you, of all Cæsar’s friends, were the most active both in dissuading the civil war, and in moderating the victory; in which I have met with no body who does not agree with me, &c. [i].”

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA,

MATIUS TO CICERO.

“Your Letter gave me great pleasure, by letting me see that you retain still that favorable opinion of me, which I had always hoped and wished; and tho’ I had never indeed any doubt of it, yet for the high value that
“ I

[i] Ep. fam. xi. 27.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ I set upon it, I was very sollicitous that it
 “ should remain always inviolable: I was con-
 “ scious to myself, that I had done nothing
 “ which could reasonably give offence to any
 “ honest man; and did not imagine therefore,
 “ that a person of your great and excellent ac-
 “ complishments could be induced to take any
 “ without reason, especially against one, who
 “ had always professed, and still continued to
 “ profess, a sincere good-will to you. Since all
 “ this then stands just as I wish it, I will now
 “ give an answer to those accusations, from
 “ which you, agreeably to your character, out
 “ of your singular goodness and friendship, have
 “ so often defended me. I am no stranger to
 “ what has been said of me by certain persons,
 “ since Cæsar’s death: they call it a crime in
 “ me, that I am concerned for the loss of an
 “ intimate friend, and sorry that the man whom
 “ I loved met with so unhappy a fate: they
 “ say, that our Country ought to be preferred
 “ to any friendship, as if they had already made
 “ it evident, that his death was of service to the
 “ Republic: but I will not deal craftily: I own
 “ myself not to be arrived at that degree of
 “ wisdom; nor did I yet follow Cæsar in our
 “ late dissensions, but my friend; whom, tho’
 “ displeased with the thing, I could not desert:
 “ for I never approved the civil war, or the
 “ cause of it; but took all possible pains to
 “ stifle it in its birth. Upon the victory there-
 “ fore of a familiar friend, I was not eager ei-
 “ ther to advance, or to enrich myself: an ad-
 “ vantage, which others, who had less interest
 “ with him than I, abused to great excess. Nay,
 “ my circumstances were even hurt by Cæsar’s
 “ law, to whose kindness the greatest part of
 “ those,

those, who now rejoice at his death, owed
 their very continuance in the City. I solli-
 cited the pardon of the vanquished with the
 same zeal, as if it had been for myself. Is it
 possible therefore for me, who labored to pro-
 cure the safety of all, not to be concerned for
 the death of him, from whom I used to pro-
 cure it? especially when the very same men,
 who were the cause of making him odious,
 were the authors also of destroying him. But
 I shall have cause, they say, to repent, for
 daring to condemn their act. Unheard of
 insolence! that it should be allowed to some
 to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others,
 even to grieve at it without punishment. But
 this was always free even to slaves, to fear,
 rejoice, and grieve by their own will, not
 that of another; which yet these men, who
 call themselves the authors of liberty, are en-
 deavouring to extort from us by the force of
 terror. But they may spare their threats: for
 no danger shall terrify me from performing
 my duty and the offices of humanity: since it
 was always my opinion, that an honest death
 was never to be avoided, often even to be
 sought. But why are they angry with me, for
 wishing onely, that they may repent of their
 act? I wish that all the world may regret
 Cæsar's death. But I ought, they say, as a
 member of civil society, to wish the good and
 safety of the Republic. If my past life and
 future hopes do not already prove that I wish
 it, without my saying so, I will not pretend
 to evince it by argument. I beg of you there-
 fore in the strongest terms, to attend to facts
 rather than to words: and if you think it the
 most useful to one in my circumstances, that
 what

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTONI-
 US. P. COR-
 NELIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ what is right should take place ; never ima-
 “ gine, that I can have any union or commerce
 “ with ill-designing men. I acted the same
 “ part in my youth, where to mistake would
 “ have been pardonable ; shall I then undo it all
 “ again, and renounce my principles in my de-
 “ clining age ? No ; it is my resolution to do
 “ nothing that can give any offence ; except it
 “ be, when I lament the cruel fate of a dear
 “ friend and illustrious man. If I were in diffe-
 “ rent sentiments, I would never disown what
 “ I was doing ; lest I should be thought, not
 “ onely wicked for pursuing what was wrong,
 “ but false and cowardly for dissembling it. But
 “ I undertook the care of the shews, which
 “ young Cæsar exhibited for the victory of his
 “ uncle : this was an affair of private, not of
 “ public duty : it was what I ought to have
 “ performed to the memory and honor of my
 “ dead friend ; and what I could not therefore
 “ deny to a youth of the greatest hopes, and so
 “ highly worthy of Cæsar. But I go often also
 “ to the Consul Antony’s to pay my compli-
 “ ments : yet you will find those very men go
 “ oftner to ask and receive favors, who reflect
 “ upon me for it, as disaffected to my Country.
 “ But what arrogance is this ? When Cæsar ne-
 “ ver hinder’d me from visiting whom I would ;
 “ even those whom he did not care for ; that
 “ they, who have deprived me of him, should
 “ attempt by their cavils to debar me from pla-
 “ cing my esteem where I think proper. But
 “ I am not afraid, that either the modesty of
 “ my life should not be sufficient to confute all
 “ false reports of me for the future, or that they,
 “ who do not love me for my constancy to Cæ-
 “ sar, would not chuse to have their friends re-

“semble me, rather than themselves. For my
 “own part, if I could have my wish, I would
 “spend the remainder of my days in quiet at
 “*Rhodes*: but if any accident prevent me, will
 “live in such a manner at *Rome*, as always to
 “desire that what is right may prevail. I am
 “greatly obliged to our friend Trebatius, for
 “giving me this assurance of your sincere and
 “friendly regard for me, and for making it my
 “duty to respect and observe a man, whom I
 “had esteemed always before with inclination.
 “Take care of your health, and preserve me
 “in your affection — [k].”

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTONI-
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 LABELLA.

ANTONY all this while was not idle; but
 pushed on his designs with great vigor and ad-
 dress: in his progress through *Italy*, his busi-
 ness was to gather up Cæsar's *old soldiers* from
 the several colonies and quarters in which they
 were settled; and by large bribes, and larger
 promises to attach them to his interests, and
 draw great bodies of them towards *Rome* to be
 ready for any purpose, that his affairs should re-
 quire. In the City likewise he neglected no
 means, which his Consular authority offered,
 how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening
 his

[k] Ep. fam. xi. 28. This
 Cn. Matius lived long after-
 wards in such favor and fa-
 miliarity with Augustus, as
 to be distinguished by the ti-
 tle of Augustus's friend. Yet
 he seems to have declined all
 public honors and business,
 and to have spent the remain-
 der of his days in an elegant
 and pleasurable retreat; em-
 ploying his time and studies
 in the improvements of gar-
 dening and planting, as well
 as in refining the delicacy of

a splendid and luxurious life,
 which was the general taste of
 that age. For he first taught
 how to *inoculate and propa-
 gate some of their curious and
 foreign fruits*; and introdu-
 ced the way of *cutting trees
 and groves into regular forms*:
 on which subjects he publish-
 ed several books, which are
 mentioned by the later wri-
 ters. Vid. Columel. de re rust.
 l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hist.
 l. 12. 2: 15. 14.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

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M. ANTONI-

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his power ; and let all people now see, for what ends he had provided *that decree*, to which the Senate had consented for the sake of peace, *confirming Cæsar's acts*: for being the master both of Cæsar's papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written [l], he had an opportunity of forging and inserting at pleasure whatever he found of use to him ; which he practised without any reserve or management ; selling publicly for money, whatever immunities were desired, by Countries, Cities, Princes, or private Men, on pretence, *that they had been granted by Cæsar, and entered into his books*. This alarmed and shocked all honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and their own decree had justified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his Letters, and declares it *a thousand times better to die, than to suffer it* [m].

“ Is it so then ? says he ; is all, that our Brutus has done, come to this, that he might live at last at *Lanuvium* ? That Trebonius might steal away through private roads to his province ? That all the acts, writings, sayings, promises, thoughts of Cæsar should have greater force now, than when he himself was living ?” All which he charges to that mistake of the first day, in *not summoning the Senate into the Capitol*, where they might have done what they pleased, when their own party was uppermost, and *these Robbers*, as he calls them, *dispersed and dejected* [n].

A M O N G

[l] Τα ὑπομνήματα τῶν
βεβλημένων ὁ Αντώνιος
ἔχων, καὶ τὰ γραμματεία τῶν
Καίσαρος παρτίων, ἐς πάν-
τα οἱ περὶ δόμον. App. l. 3.
529.

[m] Ep. fam. 12. 1. Ad
Att. 14. 9.

[n] Itane vero ? hoc mentis
& tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanu-
vii esset ? ut Trebonius ita
neribus

AMONG the other acts, which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæsar, *he granted the freedom of the City to all Sicily, and restored to King Deiotarus all his former dominions.* Cicero speaks of this with great indignation; "O my Atticus, says he, *the Ides of March* have given us nothing, but the joy of revenging ourselves on him, whom we had reason to hate——it was a brave act, but left imperfect——you know what a kindness I have for the *Sicilians*; that I esteem it an honor to be their Patron: Cæsar granted them many privileges, which I did not dislike; though his giving them *the rights of Latium* was intolerable: yet that was nothing to what Antony has done, who for a large sum of money has published a law, pretended to be made by the Dictator, in an assembly of the people, though we never heard a syllable of it in his life time, which makes them all Citizens of *Rome*. Is not Deiotarus's case just the same? He is worthy indeed of any Kingdom; but not by the grant of Fulvia: there are a thousand instances of the same sort [o]." When this last act was hung up as usual *in the Capitol*, among the public monuments of the City, the forgery appeared so gross, that the people, in the midst of their concern, could not help laughing at it; knowing, *that Cæsar bated no man so much as Deiotarus.* But the bargain was made in Fulvia's apartments, for the sum of eighty thousand pounds, by the King's agents at *Rome*, without consulting Cicero,

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
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neribus deviis proficisceretur
in provinciam? ut omnia
facta, scripta, dicta, promif-
sa, cogitata Cæsar's plus vale-
rent, quam si ipse viveret?
&c. Ad Att. 14. 10.
[o] Ad Att. 14. 12.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

Cicero, or any other of their Master's friends; yet the old King, it seems, was beforehand with them, and no sooner heard of *Cæsar's* death, than he seized upon his dominions again by force. "He knew it, says Cicero, to be an universal right, that what Tyrants had forcibly taken away, the true owners might recover whenever they were able: — he acted like a man, but we contemptibly; who whilst we hate the author, yet maintain his acts [*p*]." By these methods Antony presently amassed infinite sums of money; for tho' at the time of *Cæsar's* death he owed, as Cicero told him, *above three hundred thousand pounds, yet within less than a fortnight after it he had paid off the whole debt* [*q*].

THERE was another instance of his violence, which gave still greater offence to the City; *by seizing the public treasure, which Cæsar had deposited for the occasions of the government, in the Temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a half of our money; besides what Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, from his private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million.* This was no extraordinary sum, if we consider the vastness of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman Empire; and that *Cæsar* was of all men

[*p*] Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,—sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitem Regis sententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt—Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsar's, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut,

quæ Tyranni eripuissent, ea Tyrannis interfectis, ii quibus erepta essent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Phil. 2. 37.

[*q*] Tu autem quadringentis H. S. quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere desisti?—Phil. 2. 37.

the most rapacious in extorting it; Cicero, alluding to the manner in which it was raised, calls it *a bloody and deadly treasure*, gathered from the spoils and ruin of the subjects; *which, if it were not restored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, might have been of great service to the public, towards easing them of their taxes* [r].

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

BUT Antony, who followed Cæsar's maxims, took care to secure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers; and he was now in condition to outbid any Competitor: but the first purchase that he made with it, was of *his Colleague Dolabella*, who had long been oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the Empire, he drew entirely from Cicero and the Republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the City and the Country was clearly against him: the Town of *Puteoli*, one of the most considerable of *Italy*, had lately chosen *the Two Brutus's and Cassius for their Patrons* [s], and there wanted nothing but a Leader to arm the whole Empire in that cause: Dolabella seemed to be that very person, *till bribed*, as Cicero says, *by force of money, he not onely deserted, but overturned the Republic* [t].

E

THESE

[r] Ubi est septies millies
H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ
sunt ad Opis patebat? fune-
re illius quidem pecuniæ,
sed tamen, si iis, quorum e-
rat, non redderetur, quæ nos
tributis posset vindicare.
Phil. 2. 37. it. Phil. 1. 7. it.
Plutarch. in Ant.
[s] Vexavit Puteolanos,

quod Cassium & Brutus Pa-
tronos adoptassent. Phil. 2.
41.

[t] Ut illum oderim, quod
cum Rempub. me auctore de-
fendere cœpisset, non modo
deseruerit, emptus pecunia,
sed etiam quantum in ipso
fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16.
15.

A. Urb. 109.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

THESE proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the Senate *on the first of June*, began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures, and favorable thoughts of Antony: he now saw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the Senate itself, under his influence: and thought it time therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expostulate with him gently in the following Letter.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors, to
M. ANTONIUS Consul.

“ If we were not persuaded of your sincerity
“ and good-will to us, we should not have
“ written this to you; which, out of the kind
“ disposition that you bear to us, you will take
“ without doubt in good part. We are in-
“ formed that a great multitude of *veteran Soldiers*
“ *is already come to Rome*, and a much
“ greater expected there on the first of *June*.
“ If we could harbour any suspicion or fear of
“ you, we should be unlike ourselves: yet surely
“ ly, after we had put ourselves into your
“ power, and by your advice dismissed the
“ friends, whom we had about us from the
“ great Towns, and that not onely by public
“ Edict, but by private Letters, we deserve to
“ be made acquainted with your designs; especially
“ cially in an affair which relates to ourselves.
“ We beg of you therefore to let us know what
“ your intentions are with regard to us. Do
“ you think that we can be safe in such a crowd
“ of *Veterans*? Who have thoughts, we hear
“ even of rebuilding the Altar; which no man
“ can desire or approve, who wishes our safety.

“ and

and honor. That we had no other view from the first but peace, nor sought any thing else but the public liberty, the event shews. No body can deceive us, but you; which is not certainly agreeable to your virtue and integrity: but no man else has it in his power to deceive us. We trusted, and shall trust to you alone. Our friends are under the greatest apprehensions for us: for though they are persuaded of your integrity, yet they reflect, that a multitude of *Veterans* may sooner be pushed on to any violence by others, than restrained by you. We desire an explicit answer to all particulars: for it is silly and trifling to tell us, that the *Veterans* are called together, because you intend to move the Senate in their favor in *June*: for who do you think will hinder it, when it is certain that we shall not? No body ought to think us too fond of life, when nothing can happen to us, but with the ruin and confusion of all things [u].”

DURING Cicero's stay in the Country, where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those *Philosophical pieces*, which still subsist both to the pleasure and benefit of mankind. For he now composed his *Treatise on the Nature of the Gods*, in three books, addressed to *Brutus*; containing the opinions of all the Philosophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as to a subject of the last importance; which would inform them *what they ought to think of religion, piety, sanctity, ceremonies,*

E 2

remonies,

[u] Ep. fam. xi. 2.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

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NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

remories, faith, oaths, temples, &c. since all these were included in that single question of the Gods [x].

He drew up likewise his discourse on *Divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man*: where he explains in two books whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account. "Since Carneades, says he, has argued both acutely and copiously against *Divination*, in answer to the *Stoics*, I am now inquiring what judgement we ought to form concerning it: and for fear of giving my assent rashly to a thing, either false in itself, or not sufficiently understood, I think it best to do, what I have already done, in my *three books on the nature of the Gods*, weigh and compare diligently all the arguments with each other: for as rashness of assent and error is in all cases shameful, so most of all in that, where we are to judge what stress is to be laid on *auspices, and things of a divine and religious nature*; for the danger is, lest either by neglecting them, we involve ourselves in an impiety, or by embracing them, in an old woman's superstition [y]." He now alludes to his piece on the *advantages of old age*, called Cato, from the chief speaker in the Dialogue: he addressed it to Atticus, as a lecture of common comfort to them both, in that gloomy scene of life on which they were entering, having found so much pleasure, he says, in writing it, that it not only eased him of all the complaints of age, but made age itself even agreeable

[x] De Nat. Deor. i. 6.

[y] De Divin. i. 4.

and chearfull to him [z]. He added soon after another present of the same kind to Atticus, a *Treatise on friendship: a subject*, he says, *both worthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adapted to the case of their particular intimacy: for as I have already written of age, an old man to an old man; so now in the person of a sincere friend, I write on friendship to my friend.* This is written also in Dialogue, the chief speaker of which is Lælius; who in a conversation with his two sons in law, Fannius and Scævola, upon the death of P. Scipio and the memorable friendship that had subsisted between them, took occasion, at their desire, to explaine to them the nature and benefits of true friendship. Scævola, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old stories to his scholars, used to relate to them with pleasure all the particulars of this Dialogue, which Cicero having committed to his memory, dressed up afterwards in his own manner into the present form [a]. Thus this agreeable book, which when considered onely as an invention or essay, is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity, must needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at last to be a History, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of the best and greatest men of *Rome*. He now also wrote his discourse *on Fate*; which was the sub-

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

E 3

ject

[z] Mihi quidem ita ju-
anda hujus libri confectio
est, ut non modo omnes ab-
sterferit senectutis molestias,
sed effecerit mollem etiam &
conducendum senectutem. Cato.

ut tum ad senem senex de
Senectute, sic hoc libro ad
amicum amicissimus de ami-
citia scripsi—& cum Scævola
—exposuit nobis sermonem
Lælii de amicitia, habitum
ab illo secum, & cum altero
genero C. Fannio, &c.—de
Amicit. i.

[a] Digna mihi res tum
annuum cognitione, tum no-
stra familiaritate visa est—sed

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

ject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his Villa near *Puteoli*, where they spent several days together in *May*: and he is supposed to have finished about the same time a *Translation of Plato's* famous Dialogue, called *Timæus, on the Nature and Origin of the Universe*.

BUT he was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his hands; *A History of his own times*, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those, who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic, especially Cæsar and Crassus. This he calls his *Anecdote*; a work not to be published, but to be shewn onely to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus, an Historian, famed for his severe and invective stile [b]. Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it, and to continue down thro' Cæsar's government: but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, which he designed to vindicate at large *the justice of killing a Tyrant*. We meet with several hints of this design in his Letters: in one to Atticus he says, "I have not yet polished my *Anecdote*" "to my mind: as to what you would have me" "add, it will require a separate volume: but" "believe me, I could speak more freely and" "with less danger against that detested party" "whilst the Tyrant himself was alive, than now" "when he is dead. For he, I know not why" "indulged me wonderfully: but now, whilst" "way forever we stir, we are called back, not" "onely to Cæsar's acts, but to his very thoughts" "Again; I do not well understand what you" "would have me write: is it, that the Tyrant" "was killed according to the strict laws of Justice?"

[b] Ad Att. 2. 6. Dionys. Halic. Procem. 1.

“stice? Of that I shall both speak and write
“my thoughts fully on another occasion [c].”

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

His other friends also seem to have had some notice of this work; for *Trebonius*, in a Letter to him from *Athens*, after reminding him of his promise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, *I do not doubt, but that, if you write anything on the death of Cæsar, you will give me not the least share, both of that act, and of your affection [d].* *Dion Cassius* says, *that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death: but from this time he never saw his son, and left the piece probably unfinished; tho’ some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars [e].*

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IN the end of *May* he began to move towards *Rome*, in order to assist at the Senate on the first of *June*, and proposed to be at *Tusculum* on the twenty-sixth, of which he gave *Atticus* notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of Letters between him and *Brutus*, who desired a personal conference with him at *Lanuvium*; in which *Cicero* resolved to humor him, tho’ he

E 4

did

[c] *Librum meum illum* ἀνέδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. *Ista vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam separatum volumen expectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse, quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæsaris non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revoca-*

mur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis scribere—an sic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæsum? multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

[d] *Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Cæsaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Ep. fam. 12. 16.*

[e] *Vid. Dio. p. 96. it. Ascon. in Tog. candid.*

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did not think it prudent at that time, when without any particular use, it would onely give jealousy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the City, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entring it: he understood *that it was filled with soldiers; that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war; and that he designed to transfer the Province of Gaul from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people* [f]. Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself; Varro sent him word, *that the Veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favor them: Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum.* All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the Senate; but to withdraw himself from that City, where *he had not onely flourished, he says, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity* [g]. The major part of the Senate follow-

[f] Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non sine multo sermone —Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam & inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum —Antonii consilia narras turbulenta—sed mihi totum ejus consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

[g] Hirtius jam in Tusculano est; mihiq; ut absim, vehementer auctor est; & ille quidem periculi causa—Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit—in qua scriptum

erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ sint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Ib. 5.

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur.—Id quidem mihi non videbatur; sed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

ed his example, and *fled out of the City, for fear of some violence*, leaving the Consuls, with a few of their Creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit [b].

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
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THIS turn of affairs made Cicero resolve to prosecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to *Greece*, to spend a few months *with his son at Athens*. He despaired of any good from these Consuls, and intended to see *Rome* no more till their successors entered into office; in whose administration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to Dolabella to procure him the grant of *an honorary Lieutenancy*; and lest Antony, *an angry man*, as he calls him, should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of *his own Lieutenants*, which answered his purpose still better, for without obliging him to any service, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go wherever he pleased: so that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey [i]. He heard in the mean while from Balbus, that the Senate would be held again *on the fifth*; when commissions would be granted severally to Brutus and Cassius, *to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the Republic: and that it would be decreed also at the same time, that Provinces should be assigned to them, with the other Prætors, at the expiration of the year* [k].

THEIR

[b] Kalendis Juniis cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

[i] Etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem,

iracundus homo commoveretur—[Ad Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,—Dolabella me sibi legavit, &c. ib. 11.

[k] A Balbo redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia, frumentum emendum

&

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THEIR case at this time was very remarkable; it being wholly new in *Rome* to see *Prætors* driven out of the City, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above *ten days* in the year. but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws [l]; being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible; stript of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends therefore at *Rome* had been soliciting the Senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first Magistracies of the Republic [m].

THIS was the ground of the commission just mentioned to buy corn; which seemed however to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always *with the greatest respect* [n]. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in *Italy*; where their persons were exposed to danger from the *veteran soldiers*, who were all now in motion and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportu-

& ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram! ait, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti is & reliquis Prætoribus provinciæ decernantur. Ib. 9.

[l] Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plusquam decem dies absuisset? Phil. 2. 13.

[m] Καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐνπρέπειαν ἢ βελὴ σίτῃ φεγγίσαι

περιέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ μέσῳ διάστημα φείγην νομίσωσι. Appian. Bell. C. l. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

[n] Frumentum imponere — quod munus in Rep. fordidius? [Ad Att. 15. x.] Prætoribus liberatores urbe carebant — quos tamen ipsi Consules & in concionibus & in omnibus sermone laudabant. Phil. 1.

nity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some Provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of the Republic : which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero in the mean time, at their desire, had again recommended their interests to Hirtius, who gave him the following answer.

“ I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be
 “ prevailed with by you as easily to lay aside
 “ all crafty counsils, as they can obtain by you
 “ from me whatever they desire. They were
 “ leaving *Italy*, you say, when they wrote to
 “ you : whither ? or wherefore ? do not let
 “ them go, I beseech you, my dear Cicero :
 “ nor suffer the Republic to be wholly lost ;
 “ though overwhelmed indeed already by these
 “ rapines, burnings, murders. If they are
 “ afraid of any thing, let them be upon their
 “ guard ; but act nothing offensively : they
 “ will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the
 “ more by the most vigorous, than the most
 “ pacific measures, if they use but caution. The
 “ things which are now stirring cannot last
 “ long ; but if made the subject of war, will
 “ acquire present strength to hurt. Let me
 “ know your opinion of what may be expect-
 “ ed from them.” — Cicero sent him word,
that he would be answerable for their attempting
nothing desperate ; and was informed at the same
 time by Balbus, *that Servilia, Brutus’s mother,*
had undertaken that they should not leave Italy [o].

SER-

[o] Cui rescripti nihil illos villiam confirmare non disces-
 callidius cogitare, idque con- furos. Ad Att. 15. 6.
 firmavi—Balbus ad me—Ser-

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
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M. ANTONI-
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SERVILIA, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's *Mistresses*, and next to Cleopatra, the most beloved of them all: in the civil war he gave her several rich farms out of his *Pompeian* confiscations; and is said to have bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000 l. [p]. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the *Cæsarean party*, and at this very time possessed the *Estate and Villa of Pontius Aquila*, one of the *Conspirators*, which had been confiscated and granted to her by Cæsar. Cicero reckons it among the *solacisms of the times*, that the mother of the *Tyrant-killer* should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices [q]: yet she had such a share in all the counsils of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: *When he is influenced so much*, says he, *by his mother's advice, or at least her entreaties, why should I interpose myself* [r]?

AT their desire however he went over to them at *Antium*, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present among others, Favonius, Servilia, Porcia, Brutus's wife, and his Sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius: Brutus was much pleased at his coming, and after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion

[p] Ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam,— cui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Suet. J. Cæs. 50.

[q] Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa *ὑποσώλεια*:

Pontii Neapolitanum a matre Tyrannoctoni possideri. Ad Att. 14. 21.

[r] Matris consilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Ad Att. 15. 8.

opinion to the company on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, that Brutus should go to *Asia*, and undertake the affair of the corn; that the only thing to be done at present was, to provide for their safety; that their safety was a certain benefit to the Republic——here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested, that he would not go to *Sicily*, nor accept as a favor, what was intended as an affront; but would go to *Achaia*——Brutus said, that he would go to *Rome*, if Cicero thought it proper for him——but Cicero declared it impossible for him to be safe there——but supposing, says he, that I could be safe: why then, says Cicero, I should advise it by all means, as the best thing, which you could do, and better than any Province——after much discourse and complaining for the loss of their opportunities, for which Cassius laid all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, that though that was true, yet it was in vain to talk of what was past; and as the case then stood, he saw nothing left, but to follow his advice——to which they all at last seemed to agree, especially, when Servilia undertook by her mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of their commission: and Brutus consented, that the Plays and Shews, with which he was to entertain the City shortly as Prætor, should be given by proxy in his absence——Cicero took his leave, pleased with nothing in the conference, but the consciousness of having done his duty: for as to the rest, he gave all, he says, for
“lost;

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

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“lost; found the vessel, not onely broken,
 “but shattered to pieces; and neither prudence,
 “reason, or design in what they were doing:
 “so that if he had any doubt before, he had
 “none now, but longed to get abroad as soon
 “as possible——[s].”

OCTAVIUS, upon his coming to *Rome*, was very roughly received by Antony: who despising his age and want of experience, was so far from treating him as *Cæsar's heir*, or giving him possession of his estate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretensions, nor would suffer him to *be chosen Tribune*, to which he aspired, with the seeming favor of the people, in the room of that *Cinna*, who was killed at *Cæsar's* funeral [t]. This necessarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him; and Cicero began to take the more notice of him in proportion, as Antony grew more and more formidable: at present, he gives the following account of him. “Octavi-
 “anus, I perceive, has parts and spirit, and
 “seems to be affected, as we could wish, to-
 “wards our Heroes: but how far we may trust
 “his age, name, succession, education, is a
 “matter of great deliberation: his Father in
 “law, who came to see me at *Astura*, thinks
 “not at all. He must be cherished however,
 “if for nothing else, yet to keep him at a dis-
 “tance from Antony. Marcellus acts nobly,
 “if he instills into him a good disposition to-
 “wards our friends: he seemed to be much in-
 “fluenced

[s] Ad Att. 15. 11, 12.

[t] In locum Tribuni pl.
 forte demortui candidatum
 petitozem se ostendit—sed ad-versante conatibus suis M.
 Antonio Consule—Sueton
 August. x. Dio. 272. App
 506.

fluenced by him, but to have no confidence in Panfa and Hirtius: his natural disposition is good, if it does but hold [u].”

A Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
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IN the midst of these affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much distracted, he pursued his literary studies with his usual ardor; and to avoid *the great resort of Company*, which interrupted him, at his house near Baiæ, he removed to his *Pompeian Villa*, on the south side of *Naples*. Here he began his book of *Offices*, for the use and instruction of his son, designed, he says, to be the fruit of this excursion: he composed also an *Oration*, adapted to the state of the times, and sent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or published at his discretion; promising him withal to finish and send him in a short time his *Secret History or Anecdote*, in the manner of *Heraclides*, to be kept close in his Cabinet [x].

BEFORE he could leave *Italy*, he was obliged to return to *Tusculum*, to settle his private affairs, and provide his Equipage; and wrote to Dolabella, to give orders for the mules and other necessities, which the government used to furnish to those who went abroad with a public character [y]. Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all possible marks of the most sincere and tender affection. The unsettled condition

[u] Ad Att. 15. 12.

[x] Nos hic φιλοσοφούμενα (quid enim aliud?) & τὰ δεῖ καὶ δύνανται & magnifice explicamus, προσφωνήσμεν que Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco

quidquam pulchrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti—

Orationem tibi misi. Ejus custodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum—jam probò Ἡρακλείδου, præsertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur—Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

[y] Ib. 18.

A. Urb. 709.

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dition of the times, and the uncertainty when or in what circumstances they should meet again raised several melancholy reflections in them both, which, as soon as they parted, *drew many tears from Atticus*, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next Letter, with a promise to follow him into *Greece*: Cicero answered him with equal tenderness; “it moved me, says he “to hear of the tears which you shed after you “left me: had you done it in my presence, “should have dropt perhaps all thoughts of my “journey. That part however pleases me “where you comfort yourself with the hope “of our meeting again shortly: which expectation indeed is what chiefly supports me “I will write to you perpetually; give you an “account of every thing which relates to Brutus; send you very shortly *my Treatise on Glory*; and finish for you the other work, to be lock’d up with your treasure, &c. [z].

THESE

[z] Te, ut a me discesseras, lacrymasse, moleste ferebam. Quod si me præsentem fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. Sed illud præclare, quod te consolata est spes brevi tempore congregiendi: quæ quidem expectatio me maxime sustentat. Meæ tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto scribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de *gloria*. Excudam aliquid *Ἡεγκλείδιον*, quod lateat in thesauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. The Treatise here mentioned *on Glory*, which he sent soon after to Atticus,

and published in two books was actually preserved, and subsisting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to perish unhappily for want of being produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art.—*Raimundus Superantius* made a present of it to *Petrarch*, who, as he tells the story in one of his epistles, lent it to his Schoolmaster, who, being old and poor, pawned it for the relief of his necessities into some unknown hands, whence *Petrarch* could never recover it, upon the owner’s death. About two centuries

THESE little passages from familiar Letters, A. Urb. 709. illustrate more effectually the real characters of Cic. 63. men, than any of their more specious and public acts. It is commonly thought the part of a statesman, to divest himself of every thing natural, and banish every passion that does not serve his interest or ambition: but here we see a quite different character; one of the greatest statesmen of the world cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship; as knowing them to be designed equally by nature for the comfort as well of public as private life.

ATTICUS likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn by the goodness of his nature to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness; which gave Cicero occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. “I re-

F

“joice,

centuries after, it appeared to have been in the possession of *Bernardus Justinianus*, and was mentioned in the catalogue of his books, which he bequeathed to a monastery of Nuns; but when it could not be found there, that monastery after the strictest search, it was generally believed, that Petrus Alcionius, who was Physician to that House, and had the free use of the library, had stolen it; and after transcribing as much of it as he

could, into his own writings, had destroyed the original for fear of a discovery; it being observed by the Critics, that in his book *de Exilio*, there were many bright passages, not well connected with the rest of the work, which seemed to be above his taste and genius. Vid. Petrarch. Epist. l. 15. 1. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. in Alcionius. Menagiana. Vol. IV. p. 86.

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US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

A. Urb. 109.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ joice, says he, to perceive that you take
 “ much delight in your little girl. I love her
 “ already myself, and know her to be amiable
 “ tho’ I have never seen her. Adieu then to
 “ *Patro*, and all your Epicurean School. I
 “ another Letter ; I am mightily pleased with
 “ the fondness that you express for your little
 “ daughter ; and to see you feel at last, that
 “ the love of our children does not flow from
 “ habit or fashion, but from nature : for if that
 “ be not so, there can be no natural conjunction
 “ between one man and another, without which
 “ all society must necessarily be dissolved [a].”

THERE was now great expectation of the
shews and plays which Brutus, as Prætor of the
 City, was going to exhibit, according to an
 annual custom, in honor of Apollo, *on the third*
July ; and all people were attentive and im-
 patient to see in what manner they would be receiv-
 ed. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg *that he*
would grace them with his presence : but Cicero
 thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable
 to Brutus’s usual prudence. His answer was
 “ that he was got too far upon his journey to
 “ have it now in his power ; and that it would
 “ be very improper for him, who had not been
 “ in *Rome* since it was filled with soldiers, not
 “ so much out of regard to his danger, as his
 “ dignity, to run thither on a sudden to see
 “ plays : that in such times as these, though
 “ was reputable for those to give plays, whose
 “ office required it, yet for his seeing them,

[a] Filiolam tibi jam Ro-
 mæ jucundam esse gaudeo ;
 eamque, quam nunquam vi-
 di, tamen & amo, & amabi-

lem esse certo scio. Etiam
 atque etiam valete Patroni
 tui condiscipuli. Ad Att.
 19.—it. 7. 20.

take
ove he
amiable
then
ool. In
sed with
our little
ast, that
ow from
or if that
junction
ut which
ed [a].
on of the
or of the
g to an
e third
nd impa
be rece
g that
ut Cicero
agreeable
swer was
ourney
it would
l not be
diers, no
ger, as ha
len to se
though
ys, who
g them,
“

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it was not necessary, so neither would it be
thought decent — [b].” He was heartily
sollicitous however, that they might meet with
all imaginable encouragement, and charged At-
ticus to send him a particular account of what
passed on each day from their first opening.
THE success of them answered all their
hopes, for they were received with an incredible
applause by all ranks, though Antony’s brother
Gaius, as the next Prætor in office, presided at
them: one of the plays was *Tereus*, a *Tragedy of*
Accius; which having many strokes in it on the
characters and acts of Tyrants, was infinitely
clapped by the people. Atticus performed his
part to Cicero, and sent him a punctual account
of what passed every day; which he constantly
communicated to Brutus, who was now in his
neighbourhood; in *Nesís*, a little Isle on the
Campanian shore, the seat of *young Lucullus* —
In his answer to Atticus, “Your Letters, says
he, were very acceptable to Brutus: I spent
several hours with him, soon after I received
them: he seemed to be delighted with the
account of *Tereus*; and thought himself
more obliged to the Poet *Accius*, who made
it, than to the Prætor Antony, who presi-
ded at it. But the more joy you send us of
this sort, the more indignation it gives me,

F 2

“ to

[b] In quibus unum ali-
um summa sua prudentia,
est illud, ut spectem ludos
mos. Rescripsi scilicet, pri-
mum me jam profectum, ut
non integrum sit. Dein αὐτο-
ματον esse, me, qui Romam
omnino post hæc arma non
accesserim, neque id tam pe-
riculi mei causa fecerim,

quam dignitatis, subito ad
ludos venire. Tali enim tem-
pore ludos facere illi hone-
stum est, cui necesse est:
spectare mihi, ut non est ne-
cesse, sic ne honestum qui-
dem est. Equidem illos ce-
lebrari, & esse quam gratissi-
mos mirabiliter cupio—Ad
Att. 15. 26.

scio. Etia
ete Patron
Ad Att.

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M. ANTONI-
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LABELLA.

“ to see the *Roman* people employ their hands
 “ in clapping plays, not in defending the Re-
 “ public. This perhaps may provoke our ene-
 “ mies to discover themselves before they in-
 “ tended it; yet if they be but mortified, I care
 “ not by what means [c].” In a speech made
 afterwards to the Senate, he urges this judgment
 of the City, as a proper lesson to Antony, to
 teach him the way to glory. *O happy Brutus,*
says he, who when driven from Rome by force of
arms, resided still in the hearts and bowels of his
Citizens, who made themselves amends for the ab-
sence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applau-
ses and acclamations [d].

BUT there was one thing, which thro’ the
 inadvertency of Brutus’s managers, or the con-
 trivance of the Prætor Antony, gave Brutus
 some uneasiness; that *in the Edict* for procla-
 ming his shews, *the month, instead of Quintilis,*
was stiled July, by its new name, lately given
 to it in honor of Cæsar: for it raised great spe-
 culation, and was thought strange, that Brutus
 by Edict, should acknowledge and confirm an

act,

[c] Bruto tuæ litteræ gra-
 tæ erant. Fui enim apud
 illum multas horas in Nefide,
 cum paullo ante tuas litteras
 accepissem. Delectari mihi
 Tereo videbatur; & habere
 majorem Accio, quam An-
 tonio, gratiam. Mihi autem
 quo lætiora sunt, eo plus sto-
 machi & molestiæ est, popu-
 lum Romanum manus suas,
 non in defendenda Repub.
 sed in plaudendo consumere.
 Mihi quidem videntur, istor-
 um animi incendi etiam ad
 repræsentandam improbita-

tem suam. Sed tamen dum
 modo doleant aliquid, dole-
 ant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

[d] Quid? Apollinarium
 ludorum plausus, vel testi-
 monia potius, & judicia po-
 puli Romani parum magna
 videbantur? O beatos illos,
 qui cum adesse ipsis propter
 vim armorum non licebat,
 aderant tamen, & in medul-
 lis populi Romani ac visceri-
 bus hærebant! nisi forte Ac-
 cio tum plaudire—& non Bru-
 to putabatis, &c. Phil. 1. 15.

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act, contrived to perpetuate the honor of Tyranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condescension; and since it could not be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shews; and gave immediate orders, *that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclaimed for the thirteenth of Quintilis* [e].

WHILE Cicero continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with Brutus; and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with Letters just received from young S. Pompey, his son in law, with proposals of an accommodation, addressed to the Consuls, on which he desired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised only to change the address; *and instead of the Consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other Magistrates, with the Senate and people of Rome, lest the Consuls should suppress them, as belonging onely to themselves.* These Letters brought in substance, “that Pompey was now Master of seven Legions; that as he had just stormed a Town called *Borea*, he receiv’d the news of Cæsar’s death; which caused a wonderful joy, and change of affairs thro’ the Province of *Spain*, and a concourse of people to him from all parts. The sum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies should dismiss them; but to

F 3

“ Libo

[e] Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis! mirifice est conturbatus. Itaque sese scripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ postridie ludos Apollinares futura est, proscriberent, III Id. Quintil: —Ad Att. 16. 4.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ATNONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ Libo he signified, that unless his Father

“ Estate and House at *Rome*, which Antony

“ now possessed, were restored to him, he would

“ agree to nothing [*f*].”

THIS overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus [*g*] who having the Province of *Spain* assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from *Rome*, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy* for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honorable terms to Pompey, and “ that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the Province, he should be restored to all his estates and honors, and have the command of the whole naval power of *Rome*, in the same manner as his Father had it before him, all which was proposed and recommended to the Senate by Antony himself [*b*].” Where to preserve a due respect to Cæsar’s *Acts*, by which Pompey’s estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, *that the same sum, for which they had been sold, should be given to him by the public to enable him to purchase them again*: This amounted to above five millions and a half of our money, exclusive of his Jewels, Plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose [*i*]. On these terms, ratified by the

authority

[*f*] Ibid.[*g*] Philip. 5. 13, 14, &c.
it. Phil. 13. 4, 5, &c.[*b*] App. p. 528. Dio.
l. 45. 275.[*i*] Salvis enim actis Cæ-
sar, quæ concordiae causa

defendimus, Pompeio sua de-
mus patebit, eamque no-
minoris, quam Antonius
mit, redimet—decrevit
tantam pecuniam Pompeio
quantam ex bonis patris
prædæ dissipatione inimici

victor

authority of the Senate, Pompey *actually* quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wisely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for while it carried a shew of moderation, and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence, and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and center of the Empire.

THERE happened an incident at this time of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected conversion of their Nephew Quintus. He had long ago deserted his Father and Uncle, and attached himself wholly to Cæsar, who supplied him liberally with money: on Cæsar's death he adhered still to the same cause, and was in the utmost confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, *his right hand* [k]; or the minister of all his projects in the City; but upon some late disgust, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's designs; and signifying to his Father, that Antony would have engaged him to seize some strong post in the City, and declare him Dictator, and upon his refusal, was become his enemy [l].

F 4

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M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

Victor rede-gisset—nam argentum, vestem, suppellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille helluo dissipavit—atque illud septies millies, quod adolescenti, Patres conscripti, spopondissent, ita describetur, ut vide-

atur a vobis Cn. Pompeii filius in patrimonio suo collocatus. Philip. 13. 5.

[k] Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella. Ad Att. 14. 20.

[l] Quintus Pater exultat lætitia. Scripsit enim filius, se

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Coff.

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LABELLA.

The Father, overjoyed at this change, carried his son to Cicero, to persuade him of his sincerity, and to beg his intercession also with Atticus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleness and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance onely to draw money from them: yet in compliance with their request, he wrote what they desired to Atticus; but sent him another Letter at the same time with his real thoughts on the matter.

“OUR Nephew Quintus, says he, promises to be a very Cato. Both his Father and he have been pressing me, that I would undertake for him to you; yet so, that you should not believe him, till you yourself had seen the effects of it. I shall give him therefore such a Letter to you as he would have; but let it not move you, for I have written this, lest you should imagine that I am moved myself. The Gods grant that he may perform what he promises; for it will be a common joy to us all. I will say nothing more of it at present, &c. [*m*].”

BUT young Quintus got the better at last of all Cicero's suspicions; and after spending several

se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod cum sibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorum efficeret, præsidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se, ne patris animum offenderet; ex eo sibi illum hostem.—
Ad Att. 15. 21.

[*m*] Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. Egit autem & Pater & Filius, ut

tibi sponderem: sed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipse cognosces. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitratu dabo. Eæ ne te moverint; has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16. 1.

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veral days with him, convinced him by his whole behaviour and conversation, that he was in earnest: so that he not onely recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but presented him also to Brutus, to make the offer of his service to him in person: "If he had not wholly persuaded me, says he, that what I am saying of him is certainly true, I should not have done what I am going to tell you: for I carried the youth with me to Brutus, who was so well satisfied with him, that he gave him full credit, without suffering me to be his sponzor: in commending him, he mentioned you in the kindest manner, and at parting, embraced and kissed him. Wherefore, tho' there is reason rather to congratulate, than to entreat you, yet I beg, that whatever he may have done hitherto, thro' the weakness of age, with more levity than became him, you would believe it all to be now over, &c. [n]."

QUINTUS kept his word with them; and to give proof of his zeal and sincerity, was so hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse Antony to the people, for plundering the Temple of Opis [o]. But this accident of changing his party, which gave so much joy at present to the whole family, tho' owing rather to

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Coff.

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NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

[n] Quod nisi fidem mihi
cisset, judicassetque hoc
dico firmum fore, non
cisset id, quod dicturus
sum. Duxi enim mecum a-
ulescentem ad Brutum: sic
probatum est, quod ad te
scribo, ut ipse crediberit, me
consorem accipere noluerit.

Eumque laudans amicissime
tui mentionem fecerit. Com-
plexus, osculatusque dimise-
rit. Ad Att. 16 5.

[o] Quintus scribit, se ex
Nonis iis, quibus nos magna
gessimus, Ædem Opis expli-
caturum, idque ad populum.
Ibid. 14.

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Coff.

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NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

to a giddiness of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his Father; as it seems to have been the most probable cause of their being proscribed and murdered the year following, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himself.

CICERO was now ready for his voyage, and had provided *three little Yachts or Gallies* to transport himself and his attendants: but as there was a report of Legions arriving daily from abroad, and of Pirates also at sea, he thought it would be safer to sail in company with Brutus and Cassius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast [p]. He gave *several hints of this design* to Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected; and seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time of his own going. He resolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of it being censured, as a desertion of his country; but Atticus kept up his Spirits, by assuring him constantly in his Letters, *that all people approved it at Rome, provided that he kept his word, returning by the first of the new Year* [q].

[p] Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quasdam suspiciones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ὁμοπλοία. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam.—Nam Cassii classem, quæ plane bella est, non numero ultra fretrum. Ib. 16. 4.

[q] Bruto cum sæpe iniecissem de ὁμοπλοία, non

perinde atque ego putarem arripere visus est.—[ib. 5.] Consilium meum quod quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero; expectabam quæ si quid ad me scriberes. Ep. enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutius integrum esset. [ib. 2.] Ep. fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cælum ferri profectum

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HE sailed slowly along the coast towards *Rhegium*, going ashore every night to lodge with some Friend or Client: he spent one day at *Velia*, the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind Letter to him, dated *the nineteenth of July*; advising him by no means to sell that family estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people, who intirely loved him [r]. At this place he began his *Treatise of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of Aristotle's piece on the same subject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's *Tusculan Library*, had begged of him to explane. But Cicero never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task by the sight of *Velia*; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to *Rhegium*; whence he sent it to Trebatius, with a Letter dated *the twenty seventh*. He excuses the obscurity of it, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which however he promises to assist him, if he lived to return, and found the Republic subsisting [s].

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IN

mem meam, sed ita, si ante
Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod
videm certe enitar. [ib. 6.]
a mente discessi, ut adesset
Kalendis Jan. quod initium
ogendi Senatus fore vide-
atur. Philip. 1. 2.
[r] Ep. fam. 7. 20.
[.] Itaque ut primum Ve-

lia navigare coepi, institui
Topica Aristotelea conscribere,
ab ipsa urbe commonitus,
amantissima tui. Eum librum
tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum
quam plenissime illa res scri-
bi potuit, &c. Ep. fam. 7.
19.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

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NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

IN the same voyage, happening to be looking over his Treatise *on the Academic Philosophy*, he observed *the Preface of the third book* to be the same that he had prefixed to *his book on Glory*, which he had lately sent to Atticus. *It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish;* so that by mistake he had used this preface *twice*, without remembering it: he composed a new one therefore on ship-board, for *the piece on Glory*; and sent it to Atticus, with orders, *to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface* [t]. So wonderful was his industry and

[t] Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloria librum ad te misi, at in eo procœmium id est, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen procœmiorum: ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui. Itaque jam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto procœmio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque statim novum procœmium exaravi; tibi misi—Ad. Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A Collection of *Prefaces* prepared beforehand, and calculated indifferently for any treatise, will be thought perhaps a strange and fantastical way of composing: but tho' they had no necessary connection with the subject of any particular

work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived severally to serve the different ends, which he proposed by the publication of them. Thus in some he takes occasion to celebrate the praises of his principal friends, to whom they were addressed; in others, to enter into a general defence of Philosophy, in answer to those who censured him for spending so much time upon it: in some, he represents the miserable state of the times, and subversion of the Republic, in a manner proper to alarm his Citizens, and rouse them to assert their antient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beautiful description of some of his *Villas or gardens*, where the scene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find very agreeably

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[u] Kale
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love of letters, that neither the inconvenience of sailing, which he alway hated, nor the busy thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, on leaving *Italy* in such a conjuncture, could disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his studies.

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Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

FROM *Rhegium*, or rather *Leucopetra*, a promontory close by it, he passed over to *Syracuse* on the first of August: where he staid but one night, though in a City particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to those at *Rome*, of having any views abroad, which concerned the public [*u*]: he set sail therefore again the next morning towards *Greece*; but was driven back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and after a second attempt with no better success, was forced to repose himself in the *Villa* of his friend *Valerius*, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind [*x*].

HERE the principal inhabitants of the Country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from *Rome*, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there to-
wards

bly executed in the Prefaces of his Philosophical pieces; which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the sake of introducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp. — Init. de Div. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Legib. 2. 1. [*u*] Kalendis sextil. veni Syracusas — quæ tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum,

ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Phil. 1. 3.

[*x*] Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent; ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem; nec ita multum proventus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum — [ibid.] ibi cum ventum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem, & libenter — Ad Att. 16. 7.

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LABELLA.

wards a general pacification; " That Antony
 " seemed disposed to listen to reason, to desist
 " from his pretensions to *Gaul*; submit to the
 " authority of the Senate; and make up mat-
 " ters with Brutus and Cassius; who had writ-
 " ten circular Letters to all the principal Sena-
 " tors, to beg their attendance in the Senate on
 " the first of *September*; and that Cicero's ab-
 " sence was particularly regretted, and even
 " blamed at such a crisis [y]." This agreea-
 " ble account of things made him presently drop
 " all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which
 " he was confirmed likewise by Letters from At-
 " ticus, who, contrary to his former advice,
 " pressed him now in strong and pathetic terms
 " to come back again to Rome.

HE returned therefore by the same course
 which he had before taken, and came back to
Velia on the *seventeenth* of August: Brutus lay
 within three miles of it with his fleet, and hear-
 ing of his arrival, *came immediately on foot to se-*
lute him: " he declared himself exceedingly
 " pleased with Cicero's return; owned, that
 " he had never approved, though he had not
 " dissuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent
 " to give advice to a man of his experience
 " but now told him plainly, that he had escap-
 " ped two great imputations on his character
 " the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion
 " of the common cause; the other, of the va-

" ni

[y] Rhegini quidam, il-
 lustres homines eo venerunt,
 Roma sane recentes—hæc af-
 ferebant, Edictum Bruti &
 Cassii; & fore frequentem
 Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Cas-
 sio litteras missas ad Consula-
 res & Prætorios; ut adessent,

rogare. Summam spem na-
 ciabant, fore, ut Antonius
 cederet, res conveniret, na-
 stri Romam redirent. An-
 debant etiam me desiderare
 sub accusari, &c. — Ad A.
 ibid.

[z] N
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nity of going to see the *Olympic games*. This last, as Cicero says, would have been shameful for him, in any state of the Republic, but in the present, unpardonable; and professes himself therefore greatly obliged to the winds, for preserving him from such an infamy, and like good Citizens, blowing him back to the service of his country [z].”

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BRUTUS informed him likewise of what had passed in the Senate, on *the first of August*; and how Piso had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favor of the public liberty, in which no body had the courage to second him: he produced also Antony's *Edict*, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much: but on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it, as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome; where there was not one Senator, who had the courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the Senate again the next day [a].

THIS was the last conference, that he ever had with Brutus; who together with Cassius left Italy soon after it: they were both to succeed of course, as all Prætors did at the expiration of their office, to the government of some Province, which was assigned to them either by lot,

[z] Nam. xvi Kal. Sept.

um venissem Veliam, Brutus
audivit, erat enim cum
his navibus apud Heletem
uvium citra Veliam millia
passuum III. pedibus ad me
atim. Dii immortales, quam
valde ille reditu, vel potius
reversione mea lætatus est?

Effudit illa omnia, quæ ta-
cuerat—se autem lætari quod
effugissem duas maximas vi-
tuperationes, &c.—Ad Att.
16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. fam. 12.
25, it. ad Brut. 15.

[a] Vid. Ad Att. ibid.
Phil. 1. 4, 5. Ep. fam. 12.
2.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the Senate Cæsar had intended *Macedonia* for the one, and *Syria* for the other; but as these were two of the most important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands at a time, when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them, so Antony contrived to get two other Provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, *Crete* to Brutus, and *Cyrene* to Cassius; and by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himself, and his Colleague Dolabella; in consequence of which, he sent his Brother Caius in all haste to possess himself of the first, and Dolabella to secure the second, before their rivals could be in condition to seize them by force, of which they were much afraid; taking it for granted, that this was the project, which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the East, by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and Brutus was highly honored in *Greece*, for his eminent virtue and love of Philosophy: they resolved therefore to slight the petty Provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerfull ones, that Cæsar had promised them; and with that view had provided the fleets above-mentioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; Brutus, to *Macedonia*, Cassius, to *Syria*; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success [b].

CICERO in the mean while pursued his journey towards *Rome*, where he arrived on the last of the month: on his approach to the

[b] Plutar. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Phil. 2. 13, 38.

City,

[c] Pluta
[d] Curi
merem,
am, misi
oc ei dice

City, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of his friends, as he passed along to his House [c]. The Senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, *as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey*. Antony took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the Senate, *to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately; till by the interposition of the assembly he was dissuaded from using any violence* [d].

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

THE business of the day was, to decree some new and extraordinary honours to the memory of Cæsar, *with a religious supplication to him, as to a Divinity*: Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand was desirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own party, or by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

THE Senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero [e]; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were cal-

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G

led

[c] Plutar. in Cicer.

audientibus, cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit, &c. Phil. 1. 5.

[d] Cumque de via lan-
cerem, mihi que displici-
m, nisi pro amicitia qui
hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis

[e] Veni postridie, ipse
non venit. Phil. 5. 7.

A. Urb. 109.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

led afterwards *his Philippics*—he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage, and sudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: “At *Velia*, says he, I saw Brutus: with what grief I saw him I need not tell you: I could not but think it scandalous for me, to return to a City, from which he was forced to retire, and to find myself safe in any place, where he could not be so: yet Brutus was not half so much moved with it, as I, but supported by the consciousness of his noble act, shewed not the least concern for his own case, while he expressed the greatest for yours.” — He then declares, “that he came to second Piso; and in case of any accidents, of which many seemed to surround him, to leave that day’s speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country [*f*]. Before he entered upon the state of the Republic, he takes occasion to complain of the unprecedented violence of Antony’s treatment of him the day before, who would not have been better pleased with him, had he been present, for he should never have consented to pollute the Republic with so detestable a religion, and blend the honors of the Gods with those of a dead man: he prays the Gods to forgive both the Senate and the People for their forced consent to it—that he would never have decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus himself, who first delivered *Rome* from Regal Tyranny, and, at the distance of five centuries, had propagated a race from the same stock, to do their country the same service

[*f*] Philip. i. 4.

vice [g]. He returns thanks to Piso, for what he had said in that place the month before; wishes, that he had been present to second him; and reproves the other Consulars, for betraying their dignity by deserting him. —As to the publick affairs, he dwells chiefly on Antony's abuse of their decree, to confirm Cæsar's acts; declares himself still for the confirmation of them, not that he liked them, but for the sake of peace; yet of the genuin acts onely, such as Cæsar himself had completed; not the imperfect notes and memorandums of his pocket books; not every scrap of his writing; or what he had not even written, but spoken onely, and that, without a voucher—he charges Antony with a strange inconsistency, in pretending such a zeal for Cæsar's *acts*, yet violating the most solemn and authentic of them, *his laws*; of which he gives several examples: thinks it intolerable, to oblige them to the performance of all Cæsar's promises, yet annul so freely what ought to be held the most sacred and inviolable of any thing that he had done:” he addresses himself pathetically to both the Consuls, though Dolabella onely was present; tells them, “that they had no reason to resent his speaking so freely on the behalf of the Republic: that he made no personal reflections; had not touched their characters, their lives, and manners: that if he offended in that way, he desired no quarter [b]: but if, according to his custom, he delivered himself with all freedom on public affairs, he begged in the first place, that they would not be angry; in the next, that if

A. Urb. 709:

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

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LABELLA.

G 2

“ they

[g] Ibid. 5, 6.

[b] Ibid. 7, 11.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

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LABELLA.

“ they were, they would express their anger,
 “ as became Citizens, by civil, not military
 “ methods: that he had been admonished in-
 “ deed, not to expect, that the same liberty
 “ would be allowed to him, the enemy of Cæ-
 “ far, which had been indulged to Piso, his
 “ Father in law; that Antony would resent
 “ whatever was said against his will, though
 “ free from personal injury: if so, he must
 “ bear it, as well as he could — then after
 “ touching on their plundering the Temple of
 “ *Opis*, of those summs, which might have
 “ been of great service to the state, he observes,
 “ that whatever the vulgar might think, mo-
 “ ney was not the thing, which they aimed at;
 “ that their souls were too noble for that, and
 “ had greater designs in view [*i*]: but they
 “ quite mistook the road to glory, if they
 “ thought it to consist in a single man’s having
 “ more power, than a whole people — that to
 “ be dear to our Citizens, to deserve well of
 “ our Country, to be praised, respected, be-
 “ loved, was truly glorious; to be feared and
 “ hated, always invidious, detestable, weak
 “ and tottering—that Cæsar’s fate was a warn-
 “ ing to them, how much better it was to be
 “ loved, than to be feared: that no man could
 “ live happy, who held life on such terms,
 “ that it might be taken from him, not onely
 “ with impunity, but with praise [*k*]. He puts
 “ them in mind, of the many public demon-
 “ strations of the people’s disaffection to them,
 “ and their constant applauses and acclamations
 “ to those, who opposed them, to which he
 “ begs them to attend with more care, in or-

[*i*] Ibid. 12.[*k*] Ibid. 14.

der to learn the way how to be truly great and glorious.—He concludes, by declaring, that he had now reaped the full fruit of his return, by giving this public testimony of his constant adherence to the interests of his country: that he would use the same liberty oftener, if he found that he could do it with safety; if not, would reserve himself, as well as he could, to better times, not so much out of regard to himself, as to the Republic.”

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

IN speaking afterwards of this day's debate, he says, “that whilst the rest of the Senate behaved like slaves, he alone shewed himself to be free; and though he spoke indeed with less freedom, than it had been his custom to do, yet it was with more, than the dangers, with which he was threatned, seemed to allow [1].” Antony was greatly enraged at his speech, and summoned another meeting of the Senate for the *nineteenth*, where he again required Cicero's attendance, being resolved to answer him in person, and justify his own Conduct: for which end he employed himself during the interval in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in his Villa near *Tibur*. The Senate met on the appointed day, in the *Temple of Concord*, whither Antony came with a strong guard, and in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured by artifice to draw thither: but though Cicero himself was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him

G 3

at

[1] Locutus sum de Re-
p. minus equidem libere,
eam mea consuetudo, libe-
us tamen quam periculi mi-

næ postulabant. Philip. 5. 7.
In summa reliquorum ser-
vitate liber unus fui. Ep.
fam. 12. 25.

A. Urb. 709. at home, *being apprehensive of some design intended against his life* [m].
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

Antony's speech confirmed their apprehensions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his spleen with such fury against him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, says, *that he seemed once more rather to spew, than to speak* [n]. He produced Cicero's Letter to him, about the restoration of S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not only for his friend, but a good Citizen; as if the Letter was a confutation of his speech, and Cicero had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended service of the public [o]. But the chief thing, with which he urged him, was, his being *not only privy to the murder of Cæsar, but the Contriver of it, as well as the author of every step, which the conspirators had since taken*: by this he hoped to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose about the avenues of the Temple and within hearing even of their debates. Cicero in his account of it to Cassius, says, *that he should not scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have a share in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they should never have left the work half finished* [p].

[m] Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti, in senatum venire licuisset, cædis initium fecisset a me. Phil. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis causam, tum tentaret insidiis. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

[n] Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi,

vomere suo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

[o] Atque etiam litteras quas me sibi misisse dicere recitavit, &c. Phil. 2. 4.

[p] Nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Cæsaris interficiendi criminatum nisi ut in me veterani inclarentur. Ep. fam. 12. 2. v. 3, 4.

HE had resided all this while in *Rome*, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessary for his security, to remove to a greater distance; to some of his Villas near *Naples*. Here he composed *his second Philippic*, by way of reply to Antony; not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the Republic made it necessary to render Antony's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heighened with all the colors of wit and eloquence — it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shews, that in the decline of life, Cicero had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony or the Republic must perish; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of out-living a second time the liberty of his country.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
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NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

HE sent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly saw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved therefore to leave *Italy*, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following Letter in common to Antony.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

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M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors to ANTONY
Consul.

“ IF you are in good health, it is a pleasure
 “ to us. We have read your Letter, exactly
 “ of a piece with your Edict, abusive, threaten-
 “ ing, wholly unworthy to be sent from you
 “ to us. For our part, Antony, we have never
 “ ever done you any injury ; nor imagined, that
 “ you would think it strange, that Prætors and
 “ men of our rank should require any thing by
 “ Edict of a Consul : but if you are angry,
 “ that we have presumed to do it, give us
 “ leave to be concerned, that you would not
 “ indulge that privilege at least to Brutus and
 “ Cassius : for as to our raising troops, exact-
 “ ing contributions, soliciting armies, sending
 “ expresses beyond sea ; since you deny, that
 “ you ever complained of it, we believe you
 “ and take it as a proof of your good inten-
 “ tion : we do not indeed own any such pra-
 “ ctices ; yet think it strange, when you ob-
 “ jected nothing of that kind, that you could
 “ not contain yourself, from reproaching us
 “ with the death of Cæsar. Consider with
 “ yourself, whether it is to be endured, that
 “ for the sake of the public quiet and liberty,
 “ Prætors cannot depart from their rights by
 “ Edict, but the Consul must presently threat-
 “ en them with arms. Do not think to frighten
 “ us with such threats : it is not agreeable to
 “ our character to be moved by any danger :
 “ nor must Antony pretend to command those,
 “ by whose means he now lives free. If there
 “ were other reasons to dispose us to raise a ci-
 “ vil war, your Letter would have no effect to
 “ hinder it : for threats can have no influence

“ on

on those, who are free. But you know very well, that it is not possible for us, to be driven to any thing against our will; and for that reason perhaps you threaten, that whatever we do, it may seem to be the effect of fear. These then are our sentiments: we wish to see you live with honor and splendor in a free Republic; have no desire to quarrel with you; yet value our liberty, more than your friendship. It is your business to consider again and again, what you attempt, and what you can maintain; and to reflect, not how long Cæsar lived, but how short a time he reigned: we pray the Gods, that your counsils may be salutary, both to the Republic and to yourself; if not, wish at least, that they may hurt you as little, as may consist with the safety and dignity of the Republic [q].”

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
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LABELLA.

OCTAVIUS perceived by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the City against a Consul, armed with supreme power both civil and military; and was so far provoked by the ill usage, which he had received, that, in order to obtain by stratagem what he could not gain by force, *he formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards in Antony's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by Antony to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: but all men of sense, as Cicero says, both believed and applauded it; and the greatest*

[q] Ep. fam. xi. 3.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

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NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact [r].

THEY were both of them equally suspected by the Senate; but Antony more immediately dreaded on the account of his superior power, and supposed credit with the soldiers, whom he had served with through all the late wars, and on several occasions commanded. Here his chief strength lay; and to ingratiate himself the more with them, he began to declare himself more and more openly every day against the Conspirators; threatening them in *his Edicts*, and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of Cæsar; to whom he erected a statue in the *Rostra*, and inscribed it, *to the most worthy parent of his Country*. Cicero speaking of this in a Letter to Cassius, says, “Your friend Antony grows every day more furious, as you see from the inscription of his statue; by which he makes you, not onely murderers, but Parricides. But why do I say you, and not rather us? for the madman affirms me to be the author of your noble act. I wish that had been, for if I had, he would not have been so troublesome to us as at this time [s].”

OCTA

[r] De quo multitudini factum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum & probant. [Ep. fam. 12. 23.] Infidiis M. Antonii Consulatus latius petierat. [Sen. de Clem. 1.1.9.]

Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, &c. Sueton. August. x. Plutar. in Anton.

[s] Auget tuus amicus furor, primum in Statua, quam posuit in Rostra inscripsit, Parenti optimo merito. Ut non modo furor, sed jam etiam Parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judicemini? judicemur potius Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset, molestus non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3.

OCTAVIUS was not less active in soliciting his Uncle's soldiers, sparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his service; and by outbidding Antony in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater success than was expected, so as to draw together in a short time, a firm and regular army of Veterans, completely furnished with all necessaries for present service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the Republican Chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the Senate; and by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself: he now therefore was continually pressing Cicero by Letters and friends to come to *Rome*, and support him with his authority against their common enemy, Antony; *promising to govern himself in every step by his advice.*

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
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LABELLA.

BUT Cicero could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs: he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with Antony; and above all, that he had no good disposition towards the Conspirators: he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them, and was persuaded rather, that if ever he got the upper hand, *his Uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than by Antony himself [t].* These considerations

[t] Vaide tibi assentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta Tyranni comprobatur iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra

Brutum fore—sed in isto Juvene quanquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. Ad Att. 16. 14.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

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siderations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it absolutely necessary ; nor did he consent at last, without making it an exprefs condition, that Octavius should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus and his accomplices : where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him onely with a power sufficient to oppress Antony, yet so checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the Republic.

THIS is evident from many of his Epistles to Atticus ; “ I had a Letter, says he, from “ Octavianus on the first of *November* : his de- “ signs are great : he has drawn over all the “ Veterans of *Casilinum* and *Calatia* : and no “ wonder, he gives sixteen pounds a man. He “ proposes to make the tour of the other colo- “ nies : his view plainly is, to have the com- “ mand of the war against Antony ; so that “ we shall be in arms in a few days. But which “ of them shall we follow ? — Consider his “ name, his age : he begs to have a private “ conference with me at *Capua*, or near it : ’tis “ childish to imagine that it could be private : “ I gave him to understand, that it was neither “ necessary nor practicable. He sent to me one “ Cæcina of *Volaterræ*, who brought word, that “ Antony was coming towards the City with “ the Legion of the *Alaudæ* [*u*] : that he rai- “ fed

[*u*] THIS Legion of the *Alaudæ* was first raised by J. Cæsar, and composed of the Natives of *Gaul*, armed and disciplined after the Ro- man manner, to which he

gave the freedom of Rome. He called it by a Gallie name, *Alaudæ* ; which signified a kind of Lark, or little bird with a tuft or crest rising upon it’s head ; in imitation

" fed contributions from all the great Towns, A. Urb. 709.
 " and marched with colors displayed: he asked Cic. 63.
 " my advice, whether he should advance before Coff.
 " him to *Rome*, with three thousand Veterans, M. ANTONI-
 " or keep the post of *Capua*, and oppose his US. P. COR-
 " progress there, or go to the three *Macedonian* NELIUS DO-
 " Legions, who were marching along the up- LABELLA.
 " per coast, and are, as he hopes, in his inte-
 " rest — they would not take Antony's mo-
 " ney, as this Cæcina says, but even affronted
 " and left him while he was speaking to them.
 " In short, he offers himself for our Leader,
 " and thinks that we ought to support him. I
 " advised him to march to *Rome*: for he seems
 " likely to have the meaner people on his side;
 " and if he makes good what he promises, the
 " better sort too. O Brutus, where art thou?
 " What an opportunity dost thou lose? I did
 " not indeed foresee this: yet thought that
 " something like it would happen. Give me
 " your advice: shall I come away to *Rome*;
 " stay where I am; or retire to *Arpinum*?
 " where I shall be the safest. I had rather be at
 " *Rome*, lest if any thing should be done, I
 " should be wanted: resolve therefore for me:
 " I never was in greater perplexity [x]."
 " Again; " I had two Letters the same day
 " from Octavius: he presses me to come im-
 " mediately

imitation of which, this Le-
 gion wore a crest of feathers
 on the helmet; from which
 origin the word was adopted
 into the *Latin* tongue. An-
 tony, out of compliment to
 these troops, and to assure
 himself of their fidelity, had
 lately made a *judiciary law*,
 by which he erected a third

Class of Judges, to be drawn
 from the Officers of this Le-
 gion, and added to the other
 two of the *Senators and*
Knights; for which Cicero
 often reproaches him as a
 most infamous prostitution
 of the dignity of the Re-
 public—Phil. 1. 8.

[x] Ad Att. 16. 8.

A. Urb. 709.

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“mediately to *Rome*; is resolved, he says, to
 “do nothing without the Senate — I tell him,
 “that there can be no Senate till the first of *Ja-*
 “*nuary*, which I take to be true: he adds al-
 “so, *nor without my advice*. In a word, he
 “urges; I hang back: I cannot trust his age;
 “do not know his real intentions; will do no-
 “thing without *Pansa*; am afraid that *Anto-*
 “*ny* may prove too strong for him; and un-
 “willing to stir from the sea; yet would not
 “have any thing vigorous done without me.
 “*Varro* does not like the conduct of the boy;
 “but I do. He has firm troops, and may join
 “with *D. Brutus*: what he does, he does open-
 “ly; musters his soldiers at *Capua*; pays
 “them: we shall have a war I see instan-
 “ly — [*y*].”

Again; “I have Letters every day from
 “*Octavianus*; to undertake his affairs; to come
 “to him at *Capua*; to save the state a second
 “time: he resolves to come directly to *Rome*.

“Urg’d to the fight, ’tis shameful to refuse,
 “Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to
 chuse. — Hom. Il. n.

“He has hitherto acted, and acts still with
 “vigor; and will come to *Rome* with a great
 “force. Yet he is but a boy: he thinks the
 “Senate may be called immediately: but who
 “will come? or, if they do, who, in this un-
 “certainty of affairs, will declare against *An-*
 “*tony*? he will be a good guard to us on the
 “first of *January*: or it may come perhaps
 “blows before. The great Towns favor the
 “boy

[*y*] Ibid. 9.

boy strangely. — They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to procede: could you ever have thought it [z]?" There are many other passages of the same kind, expressing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to sit still, and let them fight it out between themselves: till the exigency of affairs made their union at last mutually necessary to each other.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
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IN the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and besides *the second Philippic*, already mentioned, now finished *his book of Offices, or the duties of man, for the use of his son* [a]. A work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of Heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen, of what *mere reason* could do towards guiding man thro' life with innocence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, *his Stoical Paradoxes*, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the Examples and Characters of their own Countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus.

ANTONY left *Rome* about the end of *September*, in order to meet and engage to his service *four Legions from Macedonia*, which had been sent thither by Cæsar, on their way towards *Parthia*, and were now by his orders returning to *Italy*. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help to be master of the City; but on his arrival at *Brundisium* on the eighth of *October*, *three of the Legions*, to his great surprize, *rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him*. This affront so enraged him, that calling together *all the Centurions*, whom he suspected of

[z] Ad Att. 11.

[a] Ibid.

A. Urb. 709.
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of being the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them *to be massacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on, to satiate their cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men*: after which he marched back towards Rome, by the Appian road, at the head of the single legion, which submitted to him; whilst the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side [b].

HE returned full of rage both against Octavius and the Republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his Consulship, in wresting the Provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and distributing them to his friends. He published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in which “ he gave Octavius the
“ name of Spartacus, reproached him with the
“ ignobleness of his birth; charged Cicero with
“ being the author of all his counsils; abused
“ young Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who
“ had offered to kill both his Father and Un-
“ cle; forbade three of the Tribuns, on pain of
“ death, to appear in the Senate, Q. Cassius,
“ the brother of the Conspirator, Carfulenus
“ and

[b] Ad. d. vii Id. Octob. Brundisium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis 1111 quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hospitis tentis Brundisii fortissimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari jusserit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium sanguine os

uxoris respersum esse constabat. Phil. 3. 2.

Cum ejus promissis legiones fortissimæ reclamassent, domum ad se venire jussit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. sentire cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos, uxorisque suæ, quam secum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit. Phil. 5. 8.

“and Canutius [c].” In this humor he summoned the Senate on *the twenty-fourth* of October, with severe threats to those who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict to *the twenty-eighth*: but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, *to declare young Cæsar a public enemy* [d]; he happened to receive the news, *that two of the Legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that which was called the Martial, had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome* [e]. This shocked him so much, that instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he onely huddled over what no body opposed, *the decree of a supplication to Lepidus*; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the Empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Consul for that of the General, and left the City with precipitation,

Vo L. III.

H

cipitation,

[c] Primum in Cæsarem imaledicta congefist—ignominiam obicit C. Cæsaris—[Phil. 3. 6.] quem in dictis Spartacum appellat. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratrem mei filium compellat edicere—ausus est scribere, hunc Patris & Patruis parricidio committasse. [ib. 7.] quid autem inuenit, Q. Cassio—mordere denunciare si in Senatu venisset. D. Carfulenus—e Senatu vi & mortis hunc expellere: Tib. Canutius—non templo solum, sed

aditu prohibere Capitolii—ib. 9.

[d] Cum Senatum vocasset, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæsarem hostem judicaret—Phil. 5. 9. App. 556.

[e] Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Phil. 5. 8.

Atque ea Legio confedit Albæ, &c. Phil. 3. 3.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

cipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself by force of *Cisalpine Gaul*, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people against the will of the Senate [*f*].

ON the news of his retreat, Cicero presently quitted his books and the Country, and set out towards *Rome*: he seemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Consul, and scarce a single Prætor in the City, nor any troops, from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with *Pansa*, for *Hirtius* lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the Consulship.

BEFORE his leaving the Country, Oppius had been with him, to press him again to undertake the affairs of Octavius, and the protection of his troops: but his answer was, “that he
“could not consent to it, unless he were first
“assured, that Octavius would not onely be no
“enemy, but even a friend to Brutus: that he
“could be of no service to Octavius till the first
“of *January*, and there would be an opportu-
“nity before that time of trying Octavius’s dis-
“position in the case of *Casca*, who had been
“named by Cæsar to the Tribunate, and was
“to enter upon it on the tenth of *December*:
“for if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his
“admission, that would be a proof of his good
“intentions

[*f*] Fugere festinans S. C. de Supplicatione per discessionem fecit—præclara tamen S. Cta. eo ipso die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa forti-

tio—L. Lentulus & P. Naso—nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii fortitionem fuisse judicarunt Phil. 3. 9, x.

intentions [g].” Oppius undertook for all his on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

THE new Tribuns in the mean time, in the absence of the superior Magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate *on the nineteenth*: Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new Consuls; but happening to receive the day before, *the edict of D. Brutus*, by which *he prohibited Antony the entrance of his Province*, and declared, *that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the Senate*, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went therefore to the Senate very early, which being observed by the other Senators, *presently drew together a full House*, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs [b].

H 2

HE

[g] Sed, ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Casca nostri Tribunatum: de quo eodem ipso dixi Oppio, cum hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totamque causam, manumque veteranorum committerer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo inimicum tyrannoctonis, sed etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Id igitur festinamus? inquit. Illi enim mea opera Kal. Jan. nihil opus est.

Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspiciemus in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est—Ad Att. 16. 15.

[b] Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a. d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præsidio Consulium designatorum referre, quamquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipso die editum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divinis in Remp. meritis fileretur,

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

HE saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of *Italy*, on the success of which depended the fate of *Rome*: that *Gaul* would certainly be lost, and with it probably the Republic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony: that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius *and his troops*: and tho' the entrusting him with that commission would throw dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controuled by the equal power, and superior authority of the *Two Consuls*, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

THE Senate being assembled, the Tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting, was to provide a guard for the security of the new Consuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole state of the Republic* into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, "and represented to them the danger of their present condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute counsils against an enemy, who lost no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined indeed before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young Cæsar, who contrary to all expectation, and without being even desired to do, what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his private authority and expence, raised a strong army of Veterans, and baffled the designs of Antony."

tur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem, aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Ita-

que in Senatum veni magis. Quod cum esset animadvertit, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. fam. xii.

that if Antony had succeeded at *Brundisium*, and prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would have filled the City at his return with blood and slaughter: that it was their part to authorize and confirm what Cæsar had done; and to empower him to do more, by employing his troops in the farther service of the state; and to make a special provision also for the two Legions which had declared for him against Antony [i]. As to D. Brutus, who had promised by Edict to preserve *Gaul* in the obedience of the Senate, that he was a Citizen, born for the good of the Republic; the imitator of his ancestors; nay, had even exceeded their merit; for the first Brutus expelled a proud King; he a fellow subject far more proud and profligate: that Tarquin, at the time of his expulsion, was actually making war for the people of *Rome*; but Antony, on the contrary, had actually begun a war against them. That it was necessary therefore to confirm by public authority, what Brutus had done by private, in preserving the Province of *Gaul*, the flower of *Italy*, and the bulwark of the Empire---[k]. Then after largely inveighing against Antony's character, and enumerating particularly all his cruelties and violences, he exhorts them in a pathetic manner, to act with courage in defence of the Republic, or die bravely in the attempt: that now was the time either to recover their liberty, or to live for ever slaves: that if the fatal day was come, and *Rome* was destined to perish, it would be a shame for them, the Governors of the world,

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTONI-

US. P. COR-

NELIUS DO-

LABELLA.

H 3

“ not

[i] Phil. 3. 1, 2, 3.

[k] Ibid. 4. 5.

A. Urb. 109. " not to fall with as much courage as Gladiators
 Cic. 63. " were used to do, and die with dignity, rather
 Coff. " than live with disgrace. He puts them in
 M. ANTONI- " mind of the many advantages, which they
 US. P. COR- " had towards encouraging their hopes and re-
 NELIUS DO- " solution; the body of the people alert and
 LABELLA. " eager in the cause; young Cæsar in the guard
 " of the City; Brutus of *Gaul*; two Consuls of
 " the greatest prudence, virtue, concord between
 " themselves; who had been meditating no-
 " thing else for many months past, but the pub-
 " lic tranquillity: to all which he promises his
 " own attention and vigilance both day and
 " night for their safety [1]. On the whole
 " therefore, he gives his vote and opinion, that
 " the new Consuls, C. Panfa and A. Hirtius
 " should take care that the Senate may meet
 " with security on the first of *January*: that
 " D. Brutus, Emperor and Consul elect, had
 " merited greatly of the Republic, by defend-
 " ing the authority and liberty of the Senate and
 " people of *Rome*: that his army, the Towns
 " and Colonies of his Province, should be pub-
 " licly thanked and praised for their fidelity to
 " him: that it should be declared to be of the
 " last consequence to the Republic, that D.
 " Brutus and L. Plancus (who commanded the
 " farther *Gaul*) Emperor and Consul elect, as
 " well as all others who had the command of
 " Provinces, should keep them in their duty
 " to the Senate, till successors were appointed
 " by the Senate: and since by the pains, virtue
 " and conduct of young Cæsar, and the assist-
 " ance of the veteran soldiers who followed him
 " the Republic had been delivered, and was still

[1] Ibid. 14, &c.

“ defended from the greatest dangers ; and since
 “ the martial and fourth Legions, under that
 “ excellent Citizen and Quæstor Egnatuleius,
 “ had voluntarily declared for the authority of
 “ the Senate, and the liberty of the people, that
 “ the Senate should take special care that due
 “ honors and thanks be paid to them for their
 “ eminent services : and that the new Consuls,
 “ on their entrance into office, should make it
 “ their first business to see all this executed in
 “ proper form : to all which the House unani-
 “ mously agreed, and ordered a decree to be
 “ drawn conformably to his opinion.”

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTONI-
 US. P. COR-
 NELIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

FROM the Senate he passed directly to *the*
Forum, and in a speech to the people, gave an
 account of what had passed : he begins, “ by
 “ signifying his joy to see so great a concourse
 “ about him, greater than he had ever remem-
 “ bered, a sure omen of their good inclinations,
 “ and an encouragement both to his endeavours
 “ and his hopes of recovering the Republic.
 “ Then he repeats with some variation what
 “ he had delivered in the Senate, of the praises
 “ of Cæsar and Brutus, and the wicked designs
 “ of Antony : that the race of the Brutus’s was
 “ given to them by the special providence of
 “ the Gods, for the perpetual defenders and de-
 “ liverers of the Republic [*m*] : that by what
 “ the Senate had decreed, they had in fact, tho’
 “ not in express words, declared Antony a
 “ public enemy : that they must consider him
 “ therefore as such, and no longer as Consul :
 “ that they had to deal with an enemy, with
 “ whom no terms of peace could be made ;
 “ who thirsted not so much after their liberty,

H 4

“ as

[*m*] Phil 4. 3.

- A. Urb. 709. " as their blood : to whom no sport was so
 Cic. 63. " agreeable, as to see Citizens butchered before
 Coff. " his eyes — That the Gods however by
 M. ANTONI- " portents and prodigies seemed to foretel his
 US. P. COR- " speedy downfall, since such a consent and
 NELIUS DO- " union of all ranks against him could never
 LABELLA. " have been effected, but by a divine influence,
 " &c. [n]."

THESE speeches, which stand *the third and fourth* in the order of his *Philippics*, were extremely well received both by the Senate and People: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, *if that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all with one mind and voice cried out, that I had twice saved the Republic* [o]. As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published probably about this time his second *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated onely to a few friends, whose approbation it had received.

THE short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Consuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to *Rome*, that *Antony was actually besieging Modena*, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest Town of his Province,

[n] Ibid. 4. &c.

[o] Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitæ finem mihi allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum

vos universi una mente ac voce iterum a me conservatam esse Remp. conclamastis. Phil. 6. 1.

Province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young Cæsar, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the Senate, but *with the advice of Cicero*, by which he now governed himself in every step, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed Antony into the Province; in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him; as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himself with vigor, till the Consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONI-
US. P. COR-
NELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

S E C T.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

S E C T. X.

ON the opening of the year, the City was in great expectation, to see what measures their new Consuls would pursue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer to Cicero, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lessons of governing from him, and seem to have been brought intirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the Republic on the foundation of *an Amnesty*. But their great obligations to Cæsar, and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left some scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of times would allow; and before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler methods of a treaty. With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the Senate, on the present state of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as Leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause [p]: and when they had done, they called up Q. Fufius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments *the first*.

[p] Ut oratio Consulum conservandæ, verum etiam animum meum erexit, spemque attulit non modo salutis dignitatis pristinæ recuperandæ. Phil. 5. 1.

first. He had been Consul four years before by Cæsar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Pansa, which by custom was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known; he was for the shortest and readiest way of coming at their end, by *declaring Antony a public enemy*, and without loss of time acting against him by open force: but this was not relished by the Consuls, who called therefore upon Calenus to speak first; that as he was a fast friend to Antony, and sure to be on the moderate side, he might instil some sentiments of that sort into the Senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impression. Calenus's opinion therefore was, *that before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the Senate*: Piso and several others were of the same mind, alledging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

BUT Cicero opposed this motion with great warmth, not onely as "vain and foolish, but
"dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dishonorable to treat with any one, who was in
"arms against his country, untill he laid them
"down and sued for peace; in which case no
"man would be more moderate or equitable
"than himself: that they had in effect proclaimed him an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by a decree, when
"he was besieging one of the great Towns of
"Italy, a Colony of Rome, and in it their
"Consul *elect*, and General Brutus: he observed from what motives those other opinions
"proceeded; from particular friendships, relations,

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " tions, private obligations ; but that a regard
 Cic. 64. " to their Country was superior to them all :
 Coff. " that the real point before them was, whether
 C. VIBIUS " Antony should be suffered to oppress the
 Pansa. " Republic ; to mark out whom he pleased to
 A. HIRTIUS. " destruction ; to plunder the City, and enslave
 " the Citizens—[*q*]. That this was his sole
 " view, he shewed from a long detail not onely
 " of his acts, but of his exprefs declarations —
 " for he had said in the Temple of Castor, in
 " the hearing of the people, that whenever it
 " came to blows, no man should remain alive,
 " who did not conquer—and in another speech ;
 " that when he was out of his Consulship, he
 " would keep an army still about the City, and
 " enter it whenever he thought fit : that in a
 " Letter, which Cicero himself had seen, to
 " one of his friends, he bad him to mark out
 " for himself what estate he would have, and
 " whatever it was, he should certainly have
 " it [*r*] : that to talk of sending Embassadors
 " to such an one, was to betray their ignorance
 " of the constitution of the Republic, the ma-
 " jesty of the *Roman* people, and the discipline
 " of their ancestors—[*s*] that whatever was the
 " purpose of their message, it would signify
 " nothing : if to beg him to be quiet, he would
 " despise it ; if to command him, would
 " not obey it—that without any possible good,
 " it would be a certain damage ; would neces-
 " sarily create delay, and obstruction to the
 " operations of the war ; check the zeal of the
 " army ; damp the spirits of the people ; whom
 " they now saw so brisk and eager in the cause
 " —that

[*q*] Phil. 5, 1, 2, 3.[*s*] Ibid. 9.[*r*] Ibid. 8, 12.

“ —that the greatest revolutions of affairs were A. Urb. 710.
 “ effected often by trifling incidents; and above Cic. 64.
 “ all in civil wars, which were generally go- Coss.
 “ verned by popular rumor: that how vigo- C. VIBIUS
 “ rous soever their instructions were to the Em- PANSA.
 “ bassadors, that they would be little regard- A. HIRTIUS.
 “ ed: the very name of an Embassy implied a
 “ diffidence and fear, which was sufficient to
 “ cool the ardor of their friends [1]: they
 “ might order him to retire from *Modena*; to
 “ quit the Province of *Gaul*; but this was not
 “ to be obtained by words, but extorted by
 “ arms — that while the Embassadors were
 “ going and coming, people would be in
 “ doubt and suspense about the success of their
 “ negotiation, and under the expectation of a
 “ doubtfull war, what progress could they hope
 “ to make in their levies?—that his opinion
 “ therefore was, to make no farther mention
 “ of an Embassy; but to enter instantly into
 “ action: that there should be a cessation of
 “ all civil business; a public tumult procla-
 “ med; the shops shut up; and that instead
 “ of their usual gown, they should all put on
 “ the *Sagum*, or habit of war: and that levies
 “ of soldiers should be made in *Rome*, and
 “ through *Italy*, without any exception of
 “ privilege or dismissal from service — that
 “ the very fame of this vigor would restrain
 “ the madness of Antony, and let the world
 “ see, that the case was not, as he pre-
 “ tended, a struggle onely of contending par-
 “ ties, but a real war against the Common-
 “ wealth—that the whole Republic should be
 “ committed to the Consuls, to take care, that
 “ it

[1] Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710. " it received no detriment — that pardon
 Cic. 64. " should be offered to those of Antony's army,
 Coss. " who should return to their duty before the first
 C. VIBIUS " of *February* — that if they did not come to
 Pansa. " this resolution now, they would be forced to
 A. HIRTIVS. " do it afterwards, when it would be too late
 " perhaps, or less effectual [*u*]."

THIS was the summ of what he advised as to their conduct towards Antony : he next proceeded to the other subject of their debate ; *the honors which were ordered to be decreed at their last meeting* ; and began with D. Brutus, as *Consul elect* ; in favor of whom, besides many high expressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this effect — " Whereas D. Brutus, *Emperor, Consul elect*, now holds the Province of *Gaul* in the power of the Senate and People of *Rome* ; and by the chearfull assistance of the Towns and Colonies of his Province, has drawn together a great army in a short time ; that he has done all this rightly and regularly, and for the service of the state : and that it is the sense therefore of the Senate and People, that the Republic has been relieved in a most difficult conjuncture, by the pains, counsel, virtue of D. Brutus, *Emperor, Consul elect*, and by the incredible zeal and concurrence of the Province of *Gaul*." He moved also for an extraordinary honor to M. Lepidus, who had no pretension to it indeed from past services, but being now at the head of the best army in the Empire, was in condition to do the most good or ill to them of any man. This was the ground of the compliment ; for his faith being suspected, and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero hoped,

hoped, by this testimony of their confidence, to confirm him in the interests of the Senate: but he seems to be hard put to it for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon: he takes notice, "that Lepidus was always moderate in power, and a friend to liberty: that he gave a signal proof of it, when Antony offered the Diadem to Cæsar; for by turning away his face, he publicly testified his aversion to slavery, and that his compliance with the times was thro' necessity, not choice — that since Cæsar's death he had practised the same moderation; and when a bloody war was revived in *Spain*, chose to put an end to it by the methods of prudence and humanity, rather than by arms and the sword, and consented to the restoration of S. Pompey [x]." For which reason he proposed the following Decree —

"Whereas the Republic has often been well and happily administered by M. Lepidus, the chief Priest; and the people of *Rome* have always found him to be an enemy to kingly government; and whereas by his endeavours, virtue, wisdom, and his singular clemency and mildness, a most dreadful civil war is extinguished; and S. Pompey the Great, the Son of Cnæus, out of respect to the authority of the Senate, has quitted his arms, and is restored to the City; that the Senate and People, out of regard to the many and signal services of M. Lepidus, Emperor, and chief Priest, place great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty, in his virtue, authority, felicity; and from a grateful sense of his merits, decree, that a gilt Equestrian statue shall be erected to him

" by

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTIUS.

[x] Ibid. 14.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ by their order in the Rostra, or any other
 “ part of the Forum, which he shall chuse—
 “ [y].” He comes next to young Cæsar;
 and after enlarging on his praises, proposes,
 “ that they should grant him a proper com-
 “ mission and command over his Troops, with-
 “ out which he could be of no use to them;
 “ and that he should have the rank and all the
 “ rights of a *Proprætor*; not onely for the sake
 “ of his dignity, but the necessary management
 “ of their affairs, and the administration of the
 “ war.” — And then offers the form of a
 Decree — “ Whereas C. Cæsar, the Son of
 “ Caius, Priest, *Proprætor*, has, in the utmost
 “ distress of the Republic, excited and enlisted
 “ Veteran Troops to defend the liberty of the
 “ *Roman* people; and whereas the Martial and
 “ fourth Legions, under the leading and au-
 “ thority of C. Cæsar, have defended, and now
 “ defend the Republic, and the liberty of the
 “ *Roman* people; and whereas C. Cæsar is
 “ gone at the head of his army to protect the
 “ Province of *Gaul*; has drawn together a bo-
 “ dy of horse, archers, Elephants, under his
 “ own and the peoples power; and in the most
 “ dangerous crisis of the Republic, has support-
 “ ed the safety and dignity of the *Roman* peo-
 “ ple; for these reasons the Senate decrees,
 “ that C. Cæsar, the Son of Caius, Priest,
 “ *Proprætor*, be henceforward a Senator, and
 “ vote in the rank and place of a *Prætor*; and
 “ that in soliciting for any future Magistracy,
 “ the same regard be had to him, as would
 “ have been had by law, if he had been Quæ-
 “ stor they ear before — [z]. As to those,
 “ who

[y] Ibid. 15.

[z] Ibid. 17.

“ who thought these honors too great for so
 “ young a man, and apprehended danger from
 “ his abuse of them, he declares their appre-
 “ hensions to be the effect of envy, rather than
 “ fear; since the nature of things was such,
 “ that he, who had once got a taste of true
 “ glory, and found himself universally dear to
 “ the Senate and People, could never think
 “ any other acquisition equal to it: he wishes
 “ that J. Cæsar had taken the same course,
 “ when young, of endearing himself to the Se-
 “ nate and honest men; but by neglecting that,
 “ he spent the force of his great genius in ac-
 “ quiring a vain popularity; and having no
 “ regard to the Senate and the better sort,
 “ opened himself a way to power, which the
 “ virtue of a free people could not bear —
 “ that there was nothing of this kind to be
 “ feared from the Son; nor after the proof of
 “ such admirable prudence in a boy, any ground
 “ to imagine that his riper age would be less
 “ prudent — for what greater folly could
 “ there be, than to prefer an useless power, an
 “ invidious greatness, the lust of reigning, al-
 “ ways slippery and tottering, to true, weigh-
 “ ty, solid glory? — if they suspected him
 “ as an enemy to some of their best and most
 “ valued Citizens, they might lay aside those
 “ fears, he had given up all his resentments to
 “ the Republic; made her the Moderatrix of
 “ all his acts — that he knew the most in-
 “ ward sentiments of the youth; would pawn
 “ his credit for him to the Senate and People;
 “ would promise, engage, undertake, that he
 “ would always be the same that he now was;
 “ such as they should wish and desire to see
 VOL. III. I “ him

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " him — [a]. He proceeds also to give a
 Cic. 64. " public testimonial of praise and thanks to
 Coff. " L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the Repub-
 C. VIBIUS " lic, in bringing over the fourth Legion from
 PANSA, " Antony to Cæsar; and moves, that it might
 A. HIRTIUS. " be granted to him for that piece of service,
 " to sue for and hold any magistracy three years
 " before the legal time — [b]. Lastly, as
 " to the Veteran Troops, which had followed
 " the authority of Cæsar and the Senate, and
 " especially the *Martial*, and *Fourth Legions*,
 " he moved, that an exemption from service
 " should be decreed to them and their children,
 " except in the case of a Gallic or domestic tu-
 " mult; and that the Consuls C. Pansa and
 " A. Hirtius, or one of them, should provide
 " lands in *Campania*, or elsewhere to be divi-
 " ded to them; and that as soon as the present
 " war was over, they should all be discharged,
 " and punctually receive whatever summs of
 " money C. Cæsar had promised to them when
 " they first declared for him. —

THIS was the substance of his speech; in the latter part of which, the proposal of honors, the Senate readily agreed with him: and tho' those which were decreed to Octavius, seemed so extraordinary to Cicero himself, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others of the first rank who thought them not great enough; so that Philippus added the honor of a Statue; Ser. Sulpicius, and Servilius, the privilege of suing for any Magistracy, still earlier than Cicero had propo-
 sed

[a] Ibid. 18.

[b] Ibid. 19.

sed [c]. But the assembly was much divided about the main question, *of sending a deputation to Antony*: some of the principal Senators were warmly for it; and the Consuls themselves favored it, *and artfully avoided to put it to the vote* [d]; which would otherwise have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for *three days* successively, while the Senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have passed a decree conformable to it, had not *Salvius the Tribune put his negative upon them* [e]. This firmness of Antony's friends prevailed at last for an *Embassy*; and *three Consular Senators* were presently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himself; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry to him onely the peremptory commands of the Senate, *to quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul*: they had instructions likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. Brutus in *Modena*, and signify to him and his army, *that the Senate and People had a grateful Sense of their*

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

I 2

Services,

[c] Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum minimum videbatur. Ad Brut.

natus jampridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Phil. 14. 7.

[e] Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum sic valuit, ut quamquam discessio facta non est, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi assensuri viderentur. Phil. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

[d] Has in sententias meas Consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis patronibus auctoritate ipsa Se-

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

Pansa,

A. HIRTIUS.

Services, which would one day be a great honor to them [f].

THE unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the City, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the issue; where, as they had done also not long before, they could not forbear *calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations [g]*. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the *Rostræ*, produced by Appuleius, the *Tribun*, and acquainted them in a Speech with the result of their debates,—“that the Senate, excepting
“a few, after they had stood firm for three days
“to his opinion, had given it up at last, with
“less gravity indeed than became them, yet
“not meanly or shamefully, having decreed
“not so much an Embassy as a denunciation
“of war to Antony, if he did not obey it:
“which carried indeed an appearance of severity;
“and he wished onely that it had carried
“no delay ——— that Antony, he was sure,
“would never obey it, nor ever submit to their
“power, who had never been in his own—
“that he would do therefore in that place what
“he had been doing in the Senate; testify,
“warn, and declare to them before-hand, that
“Antony would perform no part of what their
“Embassadors were sent to require of him—

“that

[f] Quamquam non est illa legatio, sed denunciatio belli, nisi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne Provinciam depopuletur.—Phil. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum, militesque ejus adeant, &c. ib. 3.

[g] Quid ego de universo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Phil. 7. 8.

" that he would still waste the country, besiege
 " *Modena*, and not suffer the Embassadors
 " themselves to enter the Town, or speak with
 " Brutus — believe me, says he, I know the
 " violence, the impudence, the audaciousness of
 " the man — let our Embassadors then make
 " haste, which I know they are resolved to do ;
 " but do you prepare your military habit ; for
 " it is a part also of our decree, that if he does
 " not comply, we must all put on that garb :
 " we shall certainly put it on : he will never
 " obey : we shall lament the loss of so many
 " days, which might have been employed in
 " action——[*b*]. I am not afraid, when he
 " comes to hear, how I have declared this be-
 " fore-hand, that for the sake of confuting me,
 " he should change his mind, and submit. He
 " will never do it ; will not envy me this glo-
 " ry ; will chuse rather, that you should think
 " me wise, than him modest" — he observes,
 " that tho' it would have been better to send no
 " message, yet some good would flow from it
 " to the Republic ; for when the Embassadors
 " shall make the report, which they surely will
 " make, of Antony's refusal to obey the Peo-
 " ple and Senate, who can be so perverse, as
 " to look upon him any longer as a Citizen ? —
 " Wherefore wait, says he, with patience, Ci-
 " tizens, the return of the Embassadors, and
 " digest the inconvenience of a few days : if on
 " their return they bring peace, call me preju-
 " diced ; if war, provident [*i*]." — Then
 " after assuring them, " of his perpetual vigilance
 " for their safety, and applauding their won-
 " derful alacrity in the cause, and declaring,
 " that

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

I 3

" that

[*b*] Phil. 6. 1, 2, 3.

[*i*] Ibid. 4, 6.

A. Urb. 710. " that of all the assemblies which he had seen,
 Cic 64. " he had never known so full an one as the
 Coff. " present," he thus concludes, " The season of
 C. VIBIUS " liberty is now come, my Citizens, much la-
 PANSA, " ter indeed than became the people of *Rome*;
 A. HIRTIUS. " but so ripe now, that it cannot be deferred
 " a moment. What we have hitherto suffered
 " was owing to a kind of fatality, which we
 " have born as well as we could; but if any
 " such case should happen again, it must be
 " owing to ourselves: it is not possible for the
 " people of *Rome* to be slaves, whom the Gods
 " have destined to the command of all nations:
 " the affair is now reduced to the last extre-
 " mity; the struggle is for liberty: it is your
 " part either to conquer, which will surely be
 " the fruit of your piety and concord, or to
 " suffer any thing rather than live slaves: other
 " nations may endure slavery; but the proper
 " end and business of the *Roman* people is li-
 " berty."

THE Embassadors prepared themselves im-
 mediately to execute their Commission, and the
 next morning early set forward towards Antony,
 tho' Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining state
 of health. Various were the speculations about
 the success of this message: but Antony gained
 one certain advantage by it, of more time, ei-
 ther to press the siege of *Modena*, or to take
 such measures as fresh accidents might offer:
 nor were his friends without hopes of drawing
 from it some pretence for opening a treaty with
 him; so as to give room to the chiefs of the
Cæsarian Faction to unite themselves against the
 Senate and Republican party; which seemed to
 be inspired by Cicero, with a resolution of ex-
 tinguishing all the remains of the late Tyranny.

For this purpose the Partisans of that cause were endeavouring to obviate the offence, which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply with what was enjoined; contriving specious answers for him, and representing them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardor of the City for the prosecution of the war: Calenus was at the head of this party, who kept a constant correspondence with Antony, and took care to publish such of his Letters, as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends [k].

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ,
A. HIRTIUS.

Cicero therefore, at a meeting of the Senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouse the zeal of the assembly, by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed, "that the affairs then proposed to their deliberation were of little consequence, tho' necessary in the common course of public business, about the *Appian way*, the coin, the *Luperci*, which would easily be adjusted; but that his mind was called off from the consideration of them by the more important concerns of the Republic — that he had always been afraid of sending the Embassy — and now every body saw what a languor the expectation of it had caused in peoples minds; and what a handle it had given to the practices of those, who grieved to see the Senate recovering its ancient authority; the people united with them; all

I 4

[k] Ille litteras ad te mit-
tat de spe sua secundarum re-
rum? eas tu lætus proferas?
—describendas etiam des im-

probis civibus? eorum auge-
as animos? bonorum spem,
virtutemque debilitas? —
Phil. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 710. " all *Italy* on the same side ; their armies pre-
 Cic. 64. " pared ; their Generals ready to take the
 Coff. " field — who feign answers for Antony, and
 C. VIBIUS " applaud them, as if they had sent Embassa-
 PANSA, " dors not to give, but receive conditions from
 A. HIRTIUS. " him." — Then after exposing the danger
 and iniquity of such practices, and rallying the
 principal abettor of them, Calenus, he adds,
 " that he, who all his life had been the author
 " and promotor of civil peace ; who owed
 " whatever he was, whatever he had to it ; his
 " honors, interest, dignity ; nay, even the ta-
 " lents and abilities which he was master of ;
 " yet I, says he, the perpetual adviser of peace,
 " am for no peace with Antony". — where
 perceiving himself to be heard with great atten-
 tion — he proceeds to explaine at large thro'
 the rest of his speech, " that such a peace would
 " be dishonorable, dangerous, and could not
 " possibly subsist — he exhorts the Senate
 " therefore to be attentive, prepared and armed
 " before-hand ; so as not to be caught by a
 " smooth or suppliant answer, and the false ap-
 " pearance of equity : that Antony must do
 " every thing which was prescribed to him, be-
 " fore he could pretend to ask any thing ; it
 " not, that it was not the Senate which procla-
 " med war against him, but he against the Ro-
 " man people. But for you, Fathers, I give
 " you warning, says he, the question before
 " you concerns the liberty of the people of
 " *Rome*, which is entrusted to your care ; it
 " concerns the lives and fortunes of every ho-
 " nest man ; it concerns your own authority
 " which you will for ever lose, if you do not
 " retrieve it now — I admonish you too
 " Panfa ; for tho' you want no advice, in which
 " you

“ you excel, yet the best Pilots in great storms
 “ are sometimes admonished by passengers: ne-
 “ ver suffer that noble provision of arms and
 “ troops which you have made, to come to no-
 “ thing: you have such an opportunity before
 “ you as no man ever had: by this firmness of
 “ the Senate, this alacrity of the Equestrian
 “ order, this ardor of the people, you have it
 “ in your power to free the Republic for ever
 “ from fear and danger — [l].”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 Pansa,
 A. HIRTIUS.

THE Consuls in the mean while were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the Embassy should not supersede their preparations for war; and agreed between themselves, *that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success both in the City, and the Country: for all the capital Towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers; and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service [m].* The first part fell by lot to Hirtius [n]; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away without loss of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly, *of the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the Consul.* With these,

[l] Vid. Phil. 7.

[m] An cum Municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pe-

cuniis pollicendis—hæc jam tota Italia fiunt. Phil. 7, 8, 9.

[n] Consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius—Phil. 14. 2.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIVS.

these, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage against Brutus, till Pansa could join them, which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battel, with good assurance of victory. He contented himself in the mean while with dispossessing Antony of some of his posts; and distressing him, by straitening his quarters, and opportunities of forage; in which he had some success, as he signified in a Letter to his Colleague Pansa, which was communicated to the Senate; *I have possessed myself, says he, of Claterna, and driven out Antony's garrison: his horse were routed in the action, and some of them slain* [o]: and in all his Letters to Cicero, he assured him, *that he would undertake nothing, without the greatest caution*; in answer probably, to what Cicero was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly, till Pansa could come up to him [p].

THE Embassadors returned about the beginning of *February*, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, *by the death of Ser. Sulpicius*; which happening when they were just arrived at Antony's camp, *left the Embassy maimed and imperfect*, as Cicero says, by the loss of the best and ablest man of the three [q]. The report, which they made to the Senate, answered exactly in every point to what

[o] Dejeci præsidium, Claterna potitus sum, fugati equites, prælium commissum, occisi aliquot. Phil. 8. 2.

[p] Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris literis significat, acturus vide-

batur. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

[q] Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteciret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e causa totam legationem orbam & debilitatam reliquit. Phil. 9. 1.

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what Cicero had foretold; that Antony would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the Town with great fury in their presence: he offered however some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the Senate: the purport of them was, "that the Senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants, which he and Dolabella had made in their Consulship: that all his decrees from Cæsar's books and papers should stand firm: that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the Temple of Opis; nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the seven Commissioners, created to divide the lands to the Veteran soldiers; and that his judiciary law should not be repealed: on these terms he offered to give up *Cisalpine Gaul*, provided, that he might have the greater *Gaul* in exchange for five years, with an army of six Legions, to be completed out of the troops of D. Brutus [r]."

PANSA summoned the Senate to consider the report of the Embassadors; which raised a general indignation through the City, and gave all possible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the House into his sentiments: but contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still strong

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

[r] Ante Consulis oculoque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit — ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnationem respiravit — cum illi contempti & rejecti revertissent,

dixissentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, &c. vid. Phil. 8. 7, 8, 9.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him; all tending to soften the rigor of his motions, and give them a turn more favorable towards Antony. He moved the Senate to decree, *that a war or rebellion was actually commenced*: they carried it for a tumult: he urged them, to declare Antony an enemy: they carried it for the softer term, of *adversary* [s]: he proposed, that all persons should be prohibited from going to Antony: they excepted Varius Cotta, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing which passed: in these votes Pansa himself, and all the Consular Senators concurred; even L. Cæsar, who though a true friend to liberty, yet being Antony's Uncle, thought himself obliged by decency, to vote on the milder side [t].

BUT Cicero in his turn easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second Embassy; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the Citizens to change their ordinary gown, for the Sagum or habit of war: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, the Consular Senators, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more sensibly the distress of the Republic, resolved to wave his privilege, and wear the same robe with the rest of the City [u]. In a Letter to Cassius,

[s] Ego princeps Sagarum: ego semper hostem appellavi, cum alii adversarium: semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Phil. 12. 7.

[t] Vid. Phil. 8. 1, 10.

[u] Equidem, P. C. quam-

quam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas; statui tamen a vobis, cæterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non differre vestitu. Phil. 8. 11.

he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time: "We have excellent Consuls, but most shamefull Consulars: a brave Senate; but the lower they are in dignity, the braver: nothing firmer and better than the people, and all *Italy* universally: but nothing more detestable and infamous, than our Embassadors, Philip and Piso: who, when sent onely to carry the orders of the Senate to Antony, none of which he would comply with, brought back, of their own accord, intolerable demands from him: wherefore all the world now flock about me; and I am grown popular in a salutary cause, &c. [x]."

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THE Senate met again the next day, to draw into form, and perfect what had been resolved upon in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: "He shewed the absurdity of their scruples about voting a *civil war*: that the word *Tumult*, which they had preferred, either carried in it no real difference, or if any, implied a greater perturbation of all things [y]: he proved from every step that Antony had taken, and was taking; from every thing which the Senate, the People, the Towns

" of

[x] Egregios Consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares: Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaeque universa. Nihil autem scedius Philippo & Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius: qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio

ex S. C. certas res nunciarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. fam. 12. 4.

[y] Phil. 8. 1.

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[*] I
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fulares:
infimo
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cedius
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cum es

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A. Urb. 710. " of *Italy* were doing and decreeing against
 Cic. 64. " him, that they were truly and properly in a
 Coff. " state of *civil war*; the fifth which had hap-
 C. VIBIUS " pened in their memory, and the most despe-
 Pansa. " rate of them all, being the first which was
 A. HIRTIUS. " ever raised, not by a dissension of parties con-
 " tending for a superiority in the Republic, but
 " against an union of all parties, to enslave and
 " oppress the Republic [z]. He proceeds to
 " expostulate with Calenus, for his obstinate
 " adherence to Antony, and exposes the weak-
 " ness of his pretended plea for it; a love of
 " peace, and concern for the lives of the Citi-
 " zens — he puts him in mind, that there
 " was no juster cause of taking arms, than to
 " repel slavery; that several other causes indeed
 " were just, but this necessary: unless he did
 " not take himself to be affected by it, for the
 " hopes of sharing the dominion with Antony;
 " if so, he was doubly mistaken; first, for pre-
 " ferring a private interest to the public; se-
 " condly, for thinking any thing secure, or
 " worth enjoying in a Tyranny — that a re-
 " gard for the safety of Citizens was a laudable
 " principle, if he meant the good, the useful,
 " the friends to their country: but if he meant
 " to save those, who, tho' Citizens by nature,
 " were enemies by choice; what difference was
 " there between him and such Citizens? —
 " that their Ancestors had quite another notion
 " of the care of Citizens; and when Scipio Na-
 " sica slew Tiberius Gracchus, when Opimius
 " slew Caius Gracchus, when Marius killed Sa-
 " turninus, they were all followed by the great-
 " est and the best both of the Senate and the
 " People

[z] Ibid. 3.

People — that the difference between Calenus's opinion and his was not trifling, or about a trifling matter; the wishing well only to this or that man: that he wished well to Brutus; Calenus to Antony; he wished to see a Colony of *Rome* preserved; Calenus to see it stormed: that Calenus could not deny this, who was contriving all sorts of delay, which could distress Brutus, and strengthen Antony — [a].” He then addressed himself to the other Consulars, and reproached them for their shameful behaviour the day before, in voting for a second Embassy, and said, that when the Embassadors were sent against his judgement, he comforted himself with imagining, that as soon as they should return, despised and rejected by Antony, and inform the Senate, that he would neither retire from *Gaul*, nor quit the siege of *Modena*, nor even suffer them to speak with Brutus; that out of indignation they should all arm themselves immediately in the defence of Brutus; but on the contrary, they were grown more dispirited, to hear of Antony's audaciousness; and their Embassadors, instead of courage, which they ought to have brought, had brought back nothing but fear to them — [b]. Good Gods, says he, what is become of the virtue of our Ancestors? — When Popilius was sent Embassador to *Antiochus*, and ordered him, in the name of the Senate, to depart from *Alexandria*, which he was then besieging; upon the King's deferring to answer, and contriving delays, he drew a circle round him with his staff, and bad him give his answer

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTIUS.

[a] Ibid. 4—6.

[b] Ibid. 7.

- A. Urb. 710. " swer instantly, before he stirred out of that
 Cic. 64. " place, or he would return to the Senate with-
 Coff. " out it — he then recites and ridicules the
 C. VIBIUS " several demands made by Antony; their ar-
 Pansa. " rogance, stupidity, absurdity: and [c] re-
 A. HIRTIVS. " proves Piso and Philip, men of such dignity,
 " for the meanness of bringing back conditions,
 " when they were sent onely to carry com-
 " mands — he complains, that they paid
 " more respect to Antony's Embassador, Co-
 " tyla, than he to theirs: for instead of shut-
 " ting the gates of the City against him, as they
 " ought to have done, they admitted him into
 " that very Temple where the Senate then sat;
 " where, the day before, he was taking notes
 " of what every man said, and was caressed, in-
 " vited and entertained by some of the princi-
 " pal Senators, who had too little regard to
 " their dignity, too much to their danger. But
 " what after all was the danger? which must
 " end either in liberty or death: the one al-
 " ways desirable, the other unavoidable: while
 " to fly from death basely, was worse than death
 " itself — that it used to be the character of
 " consular Senators, to be vigilant, attentive,
 " always thinking, doing, or proposing some
 " thing for the good of the public: that he re-
 " membered old Scævola in the *Marfic* war
 " how in the extremity of age, oppressed with
 " years and infirmities, he gave free access to
 " every body; was never seen in his bed; al-
 " ways the first in the Senate: he wished that
 " they all would imitate such industry; or at
 " least not envy those who did [d]: that since
 " they had now suffered a *six years slavery*,
 " longer

[c] Ibid. 8, 9.

[d] Ibid. 10.

“ longer term than honest and industrious slaves
 “ used to serve ; what watchings, what sollici-
 “ tude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the
 “ sake of giving liberty to the *Roman* people ?”
 He concludes, by adding a clause to their last
 decree ; “ to grant pardon and impunity to all
 “ who should desert Antony, and return to their
 “ duty by the fifteenth of *March* : or if any who
 “ continued with him, should do any service
 “ worthy of reward ; that one or both the Con-
 “ suls should take the first opportunity to move
 “ the Senate in their favor : but if any person
 “ from this time should go over to Antony,
 “ except Cotyla, that the Senate would consi-
 “ der him as an enemy to his country.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

THE public debates being thus adjusted,
 Pansa called the Senate together again the next
 day, to deliberate on some proper honors to be
 decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who
 died upon the Embassy — he spoke largely in
 his praise, and advised to pay him all the honors,
 which had ever been decreed to any, who had
 lost their lives in the service of their country : *a*
public funeral, sepulcher, and statue. Servilius,
 who spoke next, agreed to *a funeral and monu-*
ment, but was against *a statue,* as due onely to
 those, who had been killed by violence, in the dis-
 charge of their *Embassies.* Cicero was not con-
 tent with this, but out of private friendship to
 the man, as well as a regard to the public ser-
 vice, resolved to have all the honors paid to
 him, which the occasion could possibly justify :
 in answer therefore to Servilius, he shewed with
 his usual eloquence, that “ the case of Sulpici-
 us was the same with the case of those, who
 had been killed on the account of their Em-
 bassies : that the Embassy itself had killed
 VOL. III. K “ him :

A. Urb. 710. " him: that he set out upon it in so weak a
 Cic. 64. " condition, that though he had some hopes
 Coff. " of coming to Antony, he had none of re-
 C. VIBIUS " turning: and when he was just arrived to the
 PANSA, " congress, expired in the very act of executing
 A. HIRTIUS. " his Commission [*e*]: that it was not the man-
 " ner, but the cause of the death, which their
 " Ancestors regarded: if it was caused by the
 " Embassy, they granted a *public monument*, to
 " encourage their fellow Citizens, in dangerous
 " wars, to undertake that employment with
 " chearfulness: that several statues had been
 " erected on that account; which none had ever
 " merited better than Sulpicius——that there
 " could be no doubt, but that the Embassy had
 " killed him; and that he had carried out death
 " along with him, which he might have escaped
 " by staying at home, under the care of his wife
 " and children —— [*f*]. But when he saw
 " that if he did not obey the authority of the
 " Senate, he should be unlike to himself; and
 " if he did obey, must necessarily lose his life:
 " he chose, in so critical a state of the Repub-
 " lic, rather to die, than seem to decline any
 " service, which he could possibly do: that he
 " had many opportunities of refreshing and re-
 " posing himself in the Cities, through which
 " he passed, and was pressed to it by his Col-
 " leagues; but in spite of his distemper, per-
 " svered to death in the resolution of urging his
 " journey, and hastening to perform the com-
 " mands of the Senate —— that, if they re-
 " lected, how he endeavoured to excuse himself
 " from the task, when it was first moved in the
 " Senate, they must needs think, that this ho-

[*e*] Phil. 9. 1.[*f*] Ibid. 3.

“ nor to him, when dead, was but a necessary
 “ amends for the injury, which they had done
 “ to him, when living: for, though it was
 “ harsh to be said, yet he must say it; that it
 “ was they, who had killed him, by over-ruling
 “ his excuse, when they saw it grounded, not
 “ on a feigned, but a real sickness: and when
 “ to their remonstrance, the Consul Panfa join-
 “ ed his exhortation, with a gravity and force
 “ of speech, which his ears had not learnt to
 “ bear; then, says he, he took his Son and
 “ me aside, and professed, that he could not
 “ help preferring your authority to his own
 “ life: we, through admiration of his virtue,
 “ durst not venture to oppose his will: his Son
 “ was tenderly moved, nor was my concern
 “ much less; yet both of us were obliged to
 “ give way to the greatness of his mind, and
 “ the force of his reasoning; when to the joy
 “ of you all, he promised, that he would do
 “ whatever you prescribed, nor would decline the
 “ danger of that vote, of which he himself had
 “ been the proposer — restore life therefore to
 “ him, from whom you have taken it: for the
 “ life of the dead is in the memory of the li-
 “ ving: take care, that he, whom you unwill-
 “ ingly sent to his death, receive an immorta-
 “ lity from you: for if you decree a statue to
 “ him in the Rostra, the remembrance of his
 “ Embassy will remain to all posterity — [g].”
 Then after illustrating the great virtues, talents,
 and excellent character of Sulpicius, he observes,
 “ that all these would be perpetuated by their
 “ own merit and effects, and that the statue
 “ was the monument rather of the gratitude of

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTIUS.

K 2

“ the

[g] Ibid. 4, 5.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÁ,

A. HIRTIUS.

“ the Senate, than of the fame of the man ; of
 “ a public, rather than of a private significati-
 “ on ; an eternal testimony of Antony’s audaci-
 “ ousness ; of his waging an impious war a-
 “ gainst his country ; of his rejecting the Em-
 “ bassy of the Senate — [b].” For which
 reasons, he proposed a decree, “ that a statue
 “ of brass should be erected to him in the Ro-
 “ stra, by order of the Senate, and the cause
 “ inscribed on the base ; *that he died in the ser-*
 “ *vice of the Republic* ; with an area of five feet
 “ on all sides of it, for his children and poste-
 “ rity to see the shews of Gladiators — that
 “ a magnificent funeral should be made for him
 “ at the public charge ; and the Consul Pansa
 “ should assign him a place of burial, in the
 “ Esquiline field, with an area of thirty feet e-
 “ very way, to be granted publicly, as a fe-
 “ pulcher for him, his children and poster-
 “ ty.” — The Senate agreed to what Cicero
 desired ; and the statue itself, as we are told by
 a writer of *the third Century*, remained to his
 time, *in the Rostra of Augustus* [i].

SULPICIUS was of a noble and *patrician*
 family, of the same age, the same studies, and
 the same principles with Cicero, with whom he
 kept up a perpetual friendship. *They went*
through their exercises together when young, both
at Rome, and at Rhodes, in the celebrated schools
of Molo : whence he became an eminent Pleader
 of causes, and passed through all the great offi-
 ces of the state, with a singular reputation of
 wisdom, learning, integrity ; a constant admirer
 of the modesty of the ancients ; and a re-
 prover of the insolence of his own times. When

[b] Ibid. 5, 6.

[i] Pomponius de Origine juris.

he could not arrive at the first degree of fame, as an *Orator*, he resolved to excell in what was next to it, the character of a *Lawyer*; chusing rather to be *the first, in the second art, than the second onely in the first*: leaving therefore to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, *as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law*. In this he succeeded to his wish; and was far superior to all, who had ever professed it in Rome; being the first, who reduced it to a proper science, or rational System; and added light and method to that, which all others before him, had taught darkly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the Municipal Laws: but enlarged by a comprehensive view of *universal equity*, which he made the interpreter of it's functions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a proces at law. In his political behaviour he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissension; and, in the late war, was so busy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of *the Peace Maker*. Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed, by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it; but taking Cæsar's to be the strongest, suffered his son to follow that camp, while he himself continued quiet and neuter: for this he was honored by Cæsar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all mea-

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

fures, which seemed likely to establish the public concord; and died at last, as he had lived, in the very act and office of *peace making* [k].

THE

[k] Non facile quem dixim plus Studii quam illum & ad dicendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse: nam & in iisdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus; & postea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus est, quo melior esset & doctior: & inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse, quam in prima secundus—sed fortasse maluit, id quod est adeptus, longe omnium non ejuldem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili esse princeps—juris civilis magnum usum, & apud Scævola & apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc uno—hic enim attulit hanc artem—quasi lucem ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur—[Brut. 262, &c] neque ille magis Juris consultus, quam justitiæ fuit: ita ea quæ proficiebantur a legibus & a jure civili semper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat: neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere. [Phil. 9. 5.] Servius vero Pacificator cum suo librariolo videtur obiisse legationem. [Ad Att. 15. 7.] cognoram enim jam absens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis & in Consulatu tuo & post

Consulatum fuisse. [Ep. fam. 4. 1.]

N. B. The old Lawyers tell a remarkable story of the origin of Sulpicius's fame and skill in the law: that going one day to consult Mucius Scævola about some point, he was so dull in apprehending the meaning of Mucius's answer, that after explaining it to him twice or thrice, Mucius could not forbear saying, *It is a shame for a Nobleman, and a Patrician, and a Pleader of causes, to be ignorant of that law, which he professes to understand.* The reproach stung him to the quick, and made him apply himself to his studies with such industry, that he became the ablest Lawyer in Rome; and left behind him *near a hundred and eighty books* written by himself on nice and difficult questions of law. Digest. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.—

The Jesuits Catrou and Rouille have put this Sulpicius into the list of the Conspirators, who killed Cæsar: but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with Cæsar's writings, would have shewn them their error, and that there was none of Consular rank, but Trebonius, concerned in that affair. Hist. Rom. Vol. 17. p. 343. Not

THE Senate had heard nothing of Brutus and Cassius from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till Brutus now sent public Letters to the Consuls, giving a particular account of his success against "Antony's brother Caius, in securing *Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece*, with all the several armies in those countries to the interests of the Republic: that C. Antony was retired to *Apollonia*, with seven Cohorts; where a good account would soon be given of him: that a Legion under L. Piso had surrendered itself to young Cicero, the Commander of his Horse: that Dolabella's Horse, which was marching in two separate bodies towards *Syria*, the one in *Thessaly*, the other in *Macedonia*, had deserted their Leaders, and joined themselves to him: that Vatinius had opened the gates of *Dyrrhachium* to him, and given up the Town with his troops into his hands: that in all these transactions, Q. Hortensius, the Proconsul of *Macedonia*, had been particularly serviceable, in disposing the Provinces and their armies to declare for the cause of liberty [l]."

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

PANSA no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the Senate, to acquaint them with the contents; which raised an incredible joy through the whole City [m]: after the letters were read, Pansa spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; and moved, that public honors and thanks should be decreed to him: and then, according to his custom, called upon his Father in law Calenus, to declare his

K 4

sentiments

[l] Vid. Philip. x. 4. 5. 6. quæ lætitia Senatus, quæ a-

[m] Dii immortales! qui lacritas civitatis erat?—Ad ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, Brut. 1. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

sentiments the first: who, in a premeditated speech, delivered from writing, “acknowledged Brutus’s letters to be well and properly drawn; but since what he had done, was done without any commission and public authority, that he should be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the Senate, or the proper Governors of the Provinces — [n]. Cicero spoke next, “and began with giving the thanks of the House to Pansa, for calling them together on that day, when they had no expectation of it; and not deferring a moment to give them a share of the joy, which Brutus’s letters had brought. He observes, that Pansa, by speaking so largely in the praise of Brutus, had shewn that to be true, which he had always taken to be so, *that no man ever envied another’s virtue, who was conscious of his own*; that he had prevented him, to whom, for his intimacy with Brutus, that task seemed particularly to belong, from saying so much, as he intended, on that subject” — then addressing himself to Calenus, he asks, “What could be the meaning of that perpetual war, which he declared against the Brutus’s? why he alone was always opposing, when every one else was almost adoring them? — that to talk of Brutus’s letters being rightly drawn, was not to praise Brutus, but his secretary — when did he ever hear of a decree in that stile, that Letters were properly written: yet the expression did not fall from him by chance, but was designed, premeditated, and brought in writing — [o]. He exhorts him to consult

“with

[n] Phil. x. 1, 2, 3.

[o] Ibid. 2.

" with his son in law Panfa oftener than with A. Urb. 710.
 " himself, if he would preserve his character : Cic. 64.
 " professes, that he could not help pitying him, Coss.
 " to hear it given out among the people, that C. VIBIUS
 " there was not a second vote on the side of him, PANSA,
 " who gave the first ; which would be the A. HIRTIUS.
 " case, he believed, in that days debate.
 " You would take away, says he, the Legions
 " from Brutus, even those which he has drawn
 " off from the traiterous designs of C. Antony,
 " and engaged by his own authority in the pub-
 " lic service : you would have him sent once
 " more, as it were, into banishment, naked
 " and forlorn : but for you, Fathers, if ever
 " you betray or desert Brutus, what Citizen
 " will you honor ? whom will you favor ? un-
 " less you think those, who offer Kingly Dia-
 " dems, worthy to be preserved ; those who a-
 " bolish the name of King, to be abandoned.
 " He proceeds to display with great force the
 " merit and praises of Brutus ; his moderation,
 " mildness, patience of injuries : how studiously
 " he had avoided every step, which could give
 " a handle to civil tumults ; quitting the City ;
 " living retired in the Country ; forbidding the
 " resort of friends to him ; and leaving *Italy* it-
 " self, lest any cause of war should arise on his
 " account — that as long as he saw the Senate
 " disposed to bear every thing, he was resolved
 " to bear too ; but when he perceived them in-
 " spired with a spirit of liberty, he then exerted
 " himself to provide them succours to defend it
 " —[p] that if he had not defeated the desperate
 " attempts of C. Antony, they had lost *Mace-*
 " donia, *Illyricum*, and *Greece* ; the last of
 " which

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ which afforded either a commodious retreat
 “ to Antony, when driven out of *Italy*, or the
 “ best opportunity of invading it: which now,
 “ by Brutus’s management, being strongly pro-
 “ vided with troops, stretched out it’s arms, as
 “ it were, and offered it’s help to *Italy*.” [q]
 “ — That Caius’s march through the Provin-
 “ ces was, to plunder the allies, to scatter wast
 “ and desolation where-ever he passed, to em-
 “ ploy the armies of the *Roman* people against
 “ the people themselves: whereas Brutus made
 “ it a law, wheresoever he came, to dispense
 “ light, hope, and security to all around him:
 “ in short, that the one gathered forces to pre-
 “ serve, the other to overturn the Republic;
 “ that the soldiers themselves could judge of this,
 “ as well as the Senate; as they had declared,
 “ by their desertion of C. Antony, who by that
 “ time either was, or would soon be Brutus’s
 “ prisoner [r] — that there was no apprehension
 “ of danger from Brutus’s power; that his Le-
 “ gions, his Mercenaries, his Horse, and above
 “ all, himself was wholly theirs; formed for the
 “ service of the Republic, as well by his own ex-
 “ cellent virtue, as a kind of fatality derived from
 “ his Ancestors, both on the Father’s and the Mo-
 “ ther’s side—that none could ever blame him
 “ for any thing, unless for too great a back-
 “ wardness and aversion to war; and his not
 “ humoring the ardor of all *Italy* in their eager
 “ thirst of liberty—that it was a vain fear, which
 “ some pretended to entertain, that the Vete-
 “ rans would be disgusted to see Brutus at the
 “ head of an army: as if there were any diffi-
 “ rence between his army, and the armies of Hir-

“ tius

[q] Ibid 5.

[r] Ibid. 6.

“tius, Panfa, D. Brutus, Octavius; all which
 “had severally received publick honors for
 “their defence of the people of *Rome*: that M.
 “Brutus could not be more suspected by the
 “Veterans, than Decimus; for though the act
 “of the Brutus’s, and the praise of it was com-
 “mon to them both, yet those, who disap-
 “proved it, were more angry with Decimus;
 “as thinking him, of all others, the last, who
 “ought to have done it: yet what were all their
 “armies now doing, but relieving Decimus
 “from the siege? [*s*] — that if there was any
 “real danger from Brutus, Panfa’s sagacity
 “would easily find it out: but as they had just
 “now heard from his own mouth, he was so
 “far from thinking his army to be dangerous,
 “that he looked upon it as the firmest support
 “of the Commonwealth [*t*] — that it was the
 “constant art of the disaffected, to oppose the
 “name of the Veterans to every good design:
 “that he was always ready to encourage their
 “valour, but would never endure their arro-
 “gance. Shall we, says he, who are now
 “breaking off the shackles of our servitude, be
 “discouraged, if any one tells us, that the Ve-
 “terans will not have it so? — let that then
 “come out from me at last, which is true, and
 “becoming my character to speak; that if the
 “resolutions of this Body must be governed by
 “the will of the Veterans; if all our words and
 “acts must be regulated by their humor, then
 “it is high time to wish for death; which to
 “*Roman* Citizens was ever preferable to slave-
 “ry [*u*] — that since so many chances of death
 “surrounded

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTIUS.

[*s*] Ibid. 7.

[*t*] Ibid. 8.

[*u*] Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“surrounded them all both day and night, it
 “was not the part of a man, much less of a
 “*Roman*, to scruple the giving up that breath
 “to his Country, which he must necessarily
 “give up to nature [*x*] — that Antony was the
 “single and common enemy of them all;
 “though he had indeed his brother Lucius with
 “him, who seemed to be born on purpose,
 “that Marcus might not be the most infamous of
 “all mortals: that he had a crew also of despe-
 “rate Villains gaping after the spoils of the Re-
 “public — that the army of Brutus was provi-
 “ded against these; whose sole will, thought,
 “and purpose was, to protect the Senate and
 “the liberty of the people—who after trying
 “in vain, what patience would do, found it ne-
 “cessary at last to oppose force to force [*y*] —
 “that they ought therefore to grant the same
 “Privilege to M. Brutus, which they had grant-
 “ed before to Decimus, and to Octavius; and
 “confirm by public authority, what he had
 “been doing for them by his private counsel.”
 — For which purpose he proposed the following
 decree — “Whereas by the pains, counsel, in-
 “dustry, virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus [*z*], Pro-
 “consul, in the utmost distress of the Republic,
 “the Province of *Macedonia, Illyricum*, and
 “*Greece*, with all their Legions, Armies,
 “Horse, are now in the power of the Consuls,
 “Senate and People of *Rome*; that Q. Cæpio
 “Brutus, Proconsul, has acted herein well, and
 “for the good of the Republic; agreeably to
 “his

[*x*] Ibid. 10.[*y*] Ibid. 11.

[*z*] M. Brutus, as appears
 from the stile of this decree,
 had been adopted lately by

his Mother's brother, Q.
 Servilius Cæpio, whose name,
 according to custom, he now
 assumed with the possession
 of his Uncle's estate.

his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and
to his usual manner of serving the Common-
wealth; and that his conduct is and ever will
be acceptable to the Senate and People of
Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, Proconsul,
be ordered, to protect, guard, and defend
the Province of *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and all
Greece; and command that army, which he
himself has raised: that whatever money he
wants for military service, he may use and
take it from any part of the public revenues,
where it can best be raised; or borrow it
where he thinks proper; and impose contri-
butions of grain and forage; and take care to
draw all his troops as near to *Italy* as possible:
and whereas it appears by the Letters of Q.
Cæpio Brutus Proconsul, that the public ser-
vice has been greatly advanced, by the en-
deavours and Virtue of Q. Hortensius Pro-
consul; and that he concerted all his mea-
sures with Q. Cæpio Brutus Proconsul, to the
great benefit of the Commonwealth; that Q.
Hortensius Proconsul, has acted therein right-
ly, regularly, and for the public good; and
that it is the will of the Senate, that Q. Hor-
tensius Proconsul, with his Quæstors, Pro-
quæstors, and Lieutenants, hold the Province
of *Macedonia*, till a successor be appointed by
the Senate."

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

CICERO sent this speech to Brutus, with
that also, which he made on the first of *Janua-*
ry; of which Brutus says in answer to him, "I
have read your two orations, the one on the
first of *January*, the other on the subject of
my Letters, against Calenus: you expect now
without doubt, that I should praise them:
I am at a loss what to praise the most in them;
your

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ your courage, or your abilities : I allow you
 “ now in earnest to call them *Philippics*, as you
 “ intimated jocosely in a former Letter [a].”
 — Thus the name of *Philippics*, which seems to
 have been thrown out at first in gayety and jest
 only, being taken up and propagated by his
 friends, became at last the fixt and standing title
 of these Orations : which yet for several ages
 were called, we find, indifferently either *Philippics*
 or *Antonians* [b]. Brutus declared himself
 well pleased with these two, which he had seen,
that Cicero promised to send him afterwards all
the rest [c].

BRUTUS, when he first left *Italy*, sailed di-
 rectly for *Athens* ; where he spent some time in
 concerting measures, how to make himself ma-
 ster of *Greece* and *Macedonia* ; which was the
 great design that he had in view. Here he ga-
 thered about him all the young Nobility and
 Gentry of *Rome*, who, for the opportunity of
 their education, had been sent to this celebrated
 seat of learning : but of them all, he took the
 most notice of young Cicero ; and after a little
 acquaintance, grew very fond of him ; *admiring*
his parts and virtue, and surprized to find in one
so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind,
with such an aversion to Tyranny [d]. He made

[a] Legi orationes tuas
 duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan.
 usus es ; altera de litteris
 meis, quæ habita est abs te
 contra Calenum. Nunc sci-
 licet hoc expectas, dum eas
 laudem. Nescio animi an-
 ingenii tui major in illis li-
 bellis laus contineatur. Jam
 concedo, ut vel *Philippicæ*
 vocentur, quod tu quadam

epistola jocans scripsisti. Ad
 Brut. l. 2. 5.

[b] M. Cicero in primo
Antoniarum ita scriptum
 reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

[c] Hæc ad te Oratio per-
 feretur, quoniam te video de-
 lectari *Philippicis* nostris. Ad
 Brut. 2. 4.

[d] Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

[e] C
 mihi se
 patientia
 titudine
 cio, ut p
 mittere v
 ejus fit
 nam effi

him therefore one of his Lieutenants, tho' he was but *twenty years old*; gave him *the command of his Horse*; and employed him in several commissions of great trust and importance; in all which the young man signalized both his courage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his General, and great benefit to the public service: as Brutus did him the justice to signify both in his private and public Letters to *Rome*. In writing to Cicero, "Your son, says he, recommends himself to me so effectually by his industry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, and in short, by every duty, that he seems never to drop the remembrance of whose son he is: wherefore since it is not possible for me to make you love him more than you do already, yet allow thus much to my judgment, as to persuade yourself, that he will have no occasion to borrow any share of your glory, in order to obtain his Father's honors — [e]." This account given by one, who was no flatterer, may be considered as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed likewise by what Lentulus wrote of him about the same time: "I could not see your son, says he, when I was last with Brutus, because he was gone with the Horse into winter quarters: but by my faith, it gives me great joy for your sake, " for

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

[e] Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus fit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut

pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. l. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIVS.

“ for his; and especially my own, that he is
 “ such esteem and reputation: for as he is your
 “ son; and worthy of you, I cannot but look
 “ upon him as my Brother [*f*].”

CICERO was so full of the greater affairs,
 which were the subject of his Letters to Brutus,
 that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what
 was said about his son: he just touches it how-
 ever in one or two Letters: “ As to my Son,
 “ if his merit be as great as you write, I re-
 “ joice at it as much as I ought to do: or if
 “ you magnify it, out of love to him, even
 “ that gives me an incredible joy, to perceive,
 “ that he is beloved by you [*g*]. Again; I
 “ desire you, my dear Brutus, to keep my son
 “ with you as much as possible: he will find no
 “ better school of virtue, than in the contem-
 “ plation and imitation of you [*b*].”

THOUGH Brutus intimated nothing in his
 public Letters, but what was prosperous and
 encouraging, yet in his private accounts to Ci-
 cero, he signified *a great want of money and re-
 cruits*, and begged to be supplied with both
 from *Italy*, especially with recruits; either by
 vote of the Senate, or if that could not be had

[*f*] Filium tuum, ad Bru-
 tum cum veni, videre non
 potui, ideo quod jam in hi-
 berna, cum equitibus erat
 profectus. Sed medius fidius
 ea esse eum opinione, & tua
 & ipsius, & in primis mea
 causa gaudeo. Fratris enim
 loco mihi est, qui ex te natus,
 teque dignus est. Vale. IIII
 Kal. Jun. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

[*g*] De Cicerone meo, &
 si tantum est in eo, quantum

scribis, tantum scilicet quan-
 tum debeo, gaudeo: & si
 quod amas eum, eo major
 facis; id ipsum incredibile
 gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Al.
 Brut. 2. 6.

[*b*] Ciceronem meum, mihi
 Brute, velim quam plurimum
 tecum habeas. Virtutis disci-
 plinam meliorem reperire
 nullam, quam contemplati-
 onem atque imitationem eius.
 XIII Kal. Maii. ib. 7.

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[*i*] C
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 supplem
 deo, qu
 tum en

by some secret management, without the privity of Panfa: to which Cicero answered, "You tell me, that you want two necessary things, recruits and money: it is difficult to help you. I know no other way of raising money, which can be of use to you, but what the Senate has decreed, of borrowing it from the Cities. As to recruits, I do not see what can be done: for Panfa is so far from granting any share of his army or recruits to you, that he is even uneasy to see so many volunteers going over to you: his reason, I take it, is, that he thinks no forces too great for the demands of our affairs in *Italy*: for as to what many suspect, that he has no mind to see you too strong, I have no suspicion of it [i]." — Panfa seems to have been much in the right, for refusing to part with any troops out of *Italy*, where the stress of the war now lay, on the success of which the fate of the whole Republic depended.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

BUT there came news of a different kind about the same time to *Rome*, of *Dolabella's* successful exploits in *Asia*. He left the City, as it is said above, before the expiration of his Consulship, to possess himself of *Syria*; which had

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been

[i] Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento & pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas Senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video, quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Panfa de

exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam molleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in *Italia* decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur: quomodo autem multi suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit; quod ego non suspicor. Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

been allotted to him by Antony's management; and taking his way through Greece and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he could raise in those countries; he passed over into Asia, in hopes of inducing that Province to abandon Trebonius, and declare for him: having sent his Emissaries therefore before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius resided, without any shew of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to desire nothing more, than a free passage through the Country to his own Province. Trebonius refused to admit him into the Town; but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates: where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on Dolabella's part of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised in his turn, that if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forward towards Syria. To this Dolabella seemingly agreed; and finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force, contrived to surprize it by stratagem: embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he set forward towards Ephesus; but after he had marched several miles, and Trebonius's men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired; he turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at Smyrna before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers, by the help of ladders, presently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger [k].

DOLABELLA

[k] Appian. 3. p. 542.

DOLABELLA treated him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a Spear; and his body to be dragged about the streets and thrown into the sea [1]. This was the first blood, that was spilt on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conspirators, and the onely one, who was of *Consular rank*. It had been projected without doubt in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the Veterans to their side, or make them unwilling at least to act against them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus, and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all honest men of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

ON the news of Trebonius's death, the Senate was summoned by the Consul, where Dolabella was unanimously declared a *public enemy*, and his estate confiscated. Calenus himself first proposed the vote, and said, *that if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it*: the indignation of the City was so inflamed,

L 2 that

[1] Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli. —Secutæ colloctiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexusque summæ benevolentia—nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quasi in hostium urbem: oppressus Trebonius —interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur.

Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque perbiduum. Post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit, idque adfixum gestari jussit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac laniatum abjecit in mare, &c. Phil. xi. 2, 3.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
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that he was forced to comply with the popular humor, and hoped perhaps to put some difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the punishment. But tho' Calenus was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question, which greatly perplexed Cicero, about *the choice of a General*, to manage this new war against Dolabella. Two opinions were proposed; the one, *that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary Commission; the other, that the two Consuls should jointly prosecute that war, with the Provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them.* This was very agreeable to Pansa, and pushed therefore not onely by his friends, but by all Antony's Party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the Consuls from the war of *Italy*; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in *Asia*; raise a coldness between *the Consuls and Cicero*, if he ventured to oppose it; and above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that Commission. The debate continued thro' the first day, without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while Cassius's *mother in law*, Servilia, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he resolved at all hazards to defend the honor of Cassius; and when the debate was resumed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

He began his speech by observing, "that
" in their present grief for the lamentable fate
" of Trebonius, the Republic however would
" reap

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MUSEUM
BRITANNICUM

“ reap some good from it, since they now saw
 “ the barbarous cruelty of those, who had ta-
 “ ken arms against their country: for of the
 “ two Chiefs of the present war, the one, by
 “ effecting what he wished, had discovered what
 “ the other aimed at [m]. That they both
 “ meant nothing less than the death and de-
 “ struction of all honest men; nor would be
 “ satisfied, it seemed, with simple death, for
 “ that was the punishment of nature, but thought
 “ *the rack and tortures* due to their revenge —
 “ that what Dolabella had executed, was the
 “ picture of what Antony intended: that they
 “ were a true pair, exactly matched, marching
 “ by concert and equal paces in the execution
 “ of their wicked purposes” — this he illu-
 strates by parallel instances from the conduct
 of each; and after displaying the inhumanity
 of Dolabella, and the unhappy fate of Tre-
 bonius, in a manner proper to excite indig-
 nation against the one, and compassion for
 the other; he shews, “ that Dolabella was
 “ still the more unhappy of the two, and must
 “ needs suffer more from the guilt of his mind,
 “ than Trebonius from the tortures of his bo-
 “ dy — what doubt, says he, can there be
 “ which of them is the most miserable? he,
 “ whose death the Senate and People are eager
 “ to revenge; or he, who is adjudged to be a
 “ traitor by the unanimous vote of the Senate?
 “ for in all other respects, it is the greatest in-
 “ jury to Trebonius, to compare his life with
 “ Dolabella’s. As to the one, every body
 “ knows his wisdom, wit, humanity, innocence,
 “ greatness of mind in freeing his country; but

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 Pansa,
 A. HIRTIUS.

L 3

“ as

[m] Phil. xi. 1.

A. Urb. 710. “ as to the other, cruelty was his delight from
 Cic. 64. “ a boy, with a lewdness so shameless and aban-
 Coff. “ doned, that he used to value himself for do-
 C. VIBIUS “ ing, what his very adversaries could not ob-
 PANSA, “ ject to him with modesty. Yet this man,
 A. HIRTIUS. “ good Gods! was once mine: for I was not
 “ very curious to inquire into his vices; nor
 “ should I now perhaps have been his enemy,
 “ had he not shewn himself an enemy to you,
 “ to his Country, to the domestic Gods and
 “ Altars of us all; nay, even to nature and hu-
 “ manity itself [*n*]. He exhorts them, from
 “ this warning given by Dolabella, to act with
 “ the greater vigor against Antony: for if he,
 “ who had about him but a few of those capital
 “ incendiaries, the ringleaders of rapine and re-
 “ bellion, durst attempt an act so abominable,
 “ what barbarity were they not to expect from
 “ Antony, who had the whole crew of them in
 “ his camp?” — the principal of whom he
 describes by name and character; and adds,
 “ that as he had often dissented unwillingly from
 “ Calenus, so now at last he had the pleasure to
 “ agree with him, and to let them see that he
 “ had no dislike to the man, but to the cause:
 “ that in this case, he not onely concurred with
 “ him, but thanked him for propounding a vote
 “ so severe, and worthy of the Republic, in de-
 “ creeing Dolabella an enemy, and his estate to
 “ be confiscated [*o*].” — Then as to the second
 point, which was of greater delicacy, *the nomi-*
nation of a General to be sent against Dolabella,
 he proceeds to give his reasons for rejecting the
 two opinions proposed; the one, *for sending*
Servilius, the other, for the two Consuls — of

[*n*] Ibid. 4.[*o*] Ibid. 5, 6.

the first, he says, " that extraordinary com-
 " missions were always odious, where they were
 " not necessary : and where-ever they had been
 " granted, it was in cases very different from
 " this ——— that if the commission in debate
 " should be decreed to Servilius, it would seem
 " an affront to all the rest of the same rank,
 " that being equal in dignity, they should be
 " thought unworthy of the same honor ———
 " that he himself indeed had voted an extraor-
 " dinary commission to young Cæsar ; but
 " Cæsar had first given an extraordinary pro-
 " tection and deliverance to them : that they
 " must either have taken his army from him,
 " or decreed the command of it to him ; which
 " could not therefore be so properly said to be
 " given, as not taken away : but that no such
 " commission had ever been granted to any one,
 " who was wholly idle and unemploy'd [*p*].—
 " as to the second opinion, of decreeing that
 " Province to the Consuls, he shews it to be
 " both against the dignity of the Consuls them-
 " selves, and against the public service : that
 " when D. Brutus, a Consul elect, was actually
 " besieged, on the preservation of whom their
 " common safety depended ; and when a dread-
 " ful war was on foot, already intrusted to the
 " two Consuls, the very mention of *Asia* and
 " *Syria* would give a handle to jealousy and
 " envy ; and tho' the decree was not to take
 " place till D. Brutus should first be relieved,
 " yet a new commission would necessarily take
 " off some part of their thoughts and attention
 " from the old. Then addressing himself to
 " Panfa, he says, that tho' his mind, he knew,

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTIUS.

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" was

[*p*] Ibid. 7, 8.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

“ was intent on delivering D. Brutus, yet the
 “ nature of things would force him, to turn it
 “ sometimes towards Dolabella; and that, if
 “ he had more minds than one, they should all
 “ be directed and wholly fixt on *Modena* [q].
 “ that for his own part, he had resigned in his
 “ Consulship a rich and well furnished Province,
 “ that nothing might interrupt his endeavours to
 “ quench that flame, which was then raised in his
 “ country: he wished that Pansa would imitate
 “ him, whom he used to commend; that if the
 “ Consuls however desired to have Provinces, as
 “ other great men had usually done, let them
 “ first bring D. Brutus safe home to them: who
 “ ought to be guarded with the same care, as the
 “ image that fell from Heaven, and was kept in
 “ the Temple of *Vesta*, in the safety of which
 “ they were all safe. That this decree would
 “ create great delay and obstruction to the war
 “ against Dolabella; which required a General
 “ prepared, equipped, and already invested with
 “ command: one, who had authority, reputa-
 “ tion, an army, and a resolution tried in the
 “ service of his country [r] — that it must
 “ therefore either be Brutus or Cassius, or both
 “ of them — that Brutus could not be spared
 “ from *Macedonia*, where he was quelling the
 “ last efforts of the faction; and oppressing
 “ C. Antony, who, with the remains of a
 “ broken army, was still in possession of some
 “ considerable places: that when he had finish-
 “ ed that work, if he found it of use to the
 “ Commonwealth, to pursue Dolabella, he
 “ would do it of himself, as he had hitherto
 “ done, without waiting for their orders: for
 “ both

[q] Ibid. 9.

[r] Ibid. 10.

both he and Cassius had, on many occasions, A. Urb. 710.
 been a Senate to themselves: that in such a Cic. 64.
 season of general confusion, it was necessary Coll.
 to be governed by the times, rather than by C. VIBIUS
 rules: that Brutus and Cassius ever held the Pansa,
 safety and liberty of their country, to be the A. HIRTIUS.
 most sacred rule of acting [s]. For by what
 law, says he, by what right have they hi-
 therto been acting, the one in *Greece*, the o-
 ther in *Syria*; but by that, which Jupiter
 himself ordained, that all things beneficial to
 the Community should be esteemed lawfull
 and just? for law is nothing else but right
 reason, derived to us from the Gods, injoin-
 ing what is honest, prohibiting the contrary:
 this was the law which Cassius obeyed, when
 he went into *Syria*; another man's Province,
 if we judge by written law; but when these
 are overturned, his own, by the law of na-
 ture — but that Cassius's acts might be
 confirmed also by the authority of the Senate,
 he proposed a decree to this effect; that
 whereas the Senate has declared P. Dolabella
 to be an enemy of the *Roman* people, and
 ordered him to be pursued by open war; to
 the intent, that he may suffer the punishment
 due to him, both from Gods and men; it is
 the will of the Senate, that C. Cassius, Pro-
 consul, shall hold the Province of *Syria*, in
 the same manner, as if he had obtained it by
 right of law: and that he receive the several
 armies from Q. Marcius Crispus, Proconsul,
 L. Staius Murcus, Proconsul, A. Allienus,
 Lieutenant; which they are hereby required
 to deliver to him: that with these, and what
 other

- A. Urb. 710. " other forces he can procure, he shall pursue
 Cic. 64. " Dolabella both by land and sea : that for the
 Coff. " occasions of the war, he shall have a power
 C. VIBIUS " to demand ships, seamen, money, and all
 PANSA. " things useful to him, from whomsoever he
 A. HIRTIUS. " thinks fit, in *Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Pontus*;
 " and that whatever Province he comes into in
 " prosecuting the war, he shall have an autho-
 " rity superior to that of the proper Governor:
 " that if King Deiotarus, the Father, or the
 " Son, shall assist C. Cassius, Proconsul, with
 " their troops, as they have oft assisted the Ro-
 " man people in other wars, their conduct will
 " be acceptable to the Senate and People: that
 " if any of the other Kings, Tetrarchs and Po-
 " tentates shall do the like, the Senate and Peo-
 " ple will not be unmindfull of their services:
 " that as soon as the public affairs were settled,
 " C. Pansa and A. Hirtius the Consuls, one or
 " both of them, should take the first opportu-
 " nity of moving the Senate about the disposal
 " of the Consular and Prætorian Provinces:
 " and that in the mean while, they should all
 " continue in the hands of those, who now held
 " them, till successors were appointed by the
 " Senate [t]."

FROM the Senate, Cicero went directly into
the Forum, to give the people an account of the
 debate, and recommend to them the interests of
 Cassius : hither Pansa followed him, and to
 weaken the influence of his authority, declared
 to the Citizens, that what Cicero contended for
 was against the will and advice of Cassius's near-
 est friends and relations — of which Cicero
 gives the following account in a letter to Cassius.

M. T. CICERO to C. CASSIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ WITH what zeal I defended your dignity, both in the Senate and with the People, I would have you learn rather from your other friends, than from me. My opinion would easily have prevailed in the Senate, had not Pansa eagerly opposed it. After I had proposed that vote, I was produced to the people by Servilius, the Tribun, and said every thing, which I could of you, with a strength of voice, that filled the Forum; and with such a clamor and approbation of the people, that I had never seen the like before. You will pardon me, I hope, for doing it against the will of your mother in law. The timorous woman was afraid, that Pansa would be disgusted. Pansa indeed declared to the assembly, that both your mother and brother were against it; but that did not move me, I had other considerations more at heart: my regard was to the Republic, to which I have always wished well, and to your dignity and glory. But there is one thing which I enlarged upon in the Senate, and mentioned also to the people, in which I must desire you to make my words good: for I promised, and in a manner assured them, that you neither had, nor would wait for our decrees; but would defend the Republic yourself in your own way: and though we had heard nothing, either where you were, or what forces you had; yet I took it for granted, that all the forces in those parts were yours; and was confident, that you had already recovered the Province of *Asia* to the Republic: let it be your care to outdo your-

“ self,

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“self, in endeavouring still to advance your
“own glory. Adieu [u].”

As to the issue of the contest, some writers tell us, that it ended as Cicero desired: but it is evident from the Letter, just recited, and more clearly still from other Letters, that Pansa's authority prevailed against him, for granting the commission to the Consuls [x]. Cassius however, as Cicero advised and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at Rome; but undertook the whole affair himself, and soon put an end to Dolabella's triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in it's proper place.

THE Statue of Minerva, which Cicero, upon his going into exil, had dedicated in the Capitol, by the title of *the Guardian of the City*, was, about the end of the last year, *thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning*. This the later writers take notice of, as *ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero himself*: tho' neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any such reflection upon it. The Senate however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full House, on the eighteenth of March, *that the Statue should be repaired, and restored to its place* [y]. So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the Republic had been the constant object of his counsils.

D. BRUTUS

[u] Ep. fam. 12. 7.

[x] Quum Consulibus decreta est Asia, & permissum est iis, ut dum ipsi venirent; darent negotium qui ipsam obtineant, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

[y] Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, Castos Urbis, quam turbo deiecerat, restitueretur. Ep. fam. 12. 25. Dio. l. 45. p. 278.

D. BRUTUS was reduced by this time to such straits in *Modena*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention therefore of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by Panfa himself, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends, that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's safety, consented to the decree of a second Embassy, to be executed by himself and Servilius, together with three other Consular Senators: but finding upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great use to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving *Modena*, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with *three Legions*. At the next meeting therefore of the Senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious; and in a warm and pathetic speech pressed them to rescind it. He owns, "that it was indecent for one, whose authority they had so often followed in the most important debates, to declare himself mistaken and deceived; yet his comfort was, that it was in common with them all, and with a Consul of the greatest wisdom: that when Piso and Calenus, who knew Antony's secret, the one of whom entertained his wife and children at his house, the other was perpetually sending and receiving Letters

" from

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

- A. Urb. 710. " from him, began to renew, what they had
 Cic. 64. " long intermitted, their exhortations to peace;
 Coss. " and when the Consul thought fit to exhort the
 C. VIBIUS " same thing, a man, whose prudence could
 Pansa. " not easily be imposed upon, whose virtue ap-
 A. HIRTIUS. " proved no peace, but on Antony's submis-
 " sion; whose greatness of mind preferred death
 " to slavery; it was natural to imagine, that
 " there was some special reason for all this;
 " some secret wound in Antony's affairs, which
 " the public was unacquainted with: especially
 " when it was reported, that Antony's family
 " were under some unusual affliction, and his
 " friends in the Senate betrayed a dejection in
 " their looks — for if there was nothing in it,
 " why should Piso and Calenus, above all
 " others; why at that time; why so unexpect-
 " edly, so suddenly move for peace? yet now
 " when they had entangled the Senate in a pa-
 " cific Embassy, they both denied, that there
 " was any thing new or particular, which in-
 " duced them to it [z]: that there could be
 " no occasion therefore for new measures, when
 " there was nothing new in the case itself —
 " that they were drawn in, and deceived by
 " Antony's friends, who were serving his pri-
 " vate, not the public interest — that he had
 " seen it from the first, tho' but darkly; his
 " concern for Brutus having dazzled his eyes
 " for whose liberty, if a substitute could be
 " accepted, he would freely offer himself to be
 " shut up in his place — that if Antony would
 " humble himself, and sue to them for aid in
 " thing, he should perhaps be for hearing him
 " but while he stood to his arms, and acted
 " offe

offensively, their business was to resist force
 "by force — but they would tell him per-
 "haps, that the thing was not in their power,
 "since an Embassy was actually decreed. But
 "what is it, says he, that is not free to the
 "wise, which it is possible to retrieve? it is the
 "case of every man to err, but the part onely
 "of a fool to persevere in error — if we
 "have been drawn away by false and fallacious
 "hopes, let us turn again into the way; for
 "the surest harbour to a penitent is a change
 "of his conduct [a]. He then shews, how the
 "Embassy, so far from being of service, would
 "certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt the Re-
 "public; by checking the zeal of the Towns
 "and Colonies of *Italy*; and the courage of
 "the Legions, which had declared for them,
 "who could never be eager to fight, while the
 "Senate was founding a retreat [b]. — That
 "nothing was more unjust, than to determine
 "any thing about peace, without the consent
 "of those who were carrying on the war; and
 "not onely without, but against their consent:
 "that Hirtius and Cæsar had no thoughts of
 "peace; from whom he had letters then in his
 "hands, declaring their hopes of victory: for
 "their desire was to conquer, and to acquire
 "peace, not by treaty, but by victory [c]. —
 "That there could not possibly be any peace
 "with one, to whom nothing could be grant-
 "ed: they had voted him to have forged se-
 "veral decrees of the Senate; would they vote
 "them again to be genuin? they had annulled
 "his laws, as made by violence; would they
 "now consent to restore them? they had de-
 "creed

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

[a] Ibid. 2.

[b] Ibid. 3.

[c] Ibid. 4.

A. Urb. 710. " creed him to have embezzled five millions of
 Cic. 64. " money ; could such a wast be absolved from
 Coss. " a charge of fraud ? that immunities, Priest-
 C. VIBIUS " hoods, Kingdoms, had been sold by him ;
 Pansa. " could those bargains be confirmed, which
 A. HIRTIVS. " their decrees had made void ? [d] — That if
 " they should grant him the farther *Gaul* and
 " an army, what would it be else, but to defer
 " the war, not to make peace ? nay, not onely
 " to prolong the war, but to yield him the vi-
 " ctory [e]. — Was it for this, says he, that
 " we have put on the robe of war, taken arms,
 " sent out all the youth of *Italy* ; that with a
 " most flourishing and numerous army we should
 " send an Embassy at last for peace ? and must
 " I bear a part in that Embassy, or assist in that
 " counsil, where, if I differ from the rest, the
 " people of *Rome* can never know it ? so that
 " whatever concessions are made to Antony, or
 " whatever mischief he may do hereafter, it
 " must be at the hazard of my credit." —
 He then shews, " that if an Embassy must need
 " be sent, he, of all men, was the most impro-
 " per to be employed in it : that he had ever been
 " against any Embassy ; was the mover of their
 " taking the habit of war ; was always for the
 " severest proceedings both against Antony and
 " his associates — that all that party looked
 " upon him as prejudiced ; and Antony would
 " be offended at the sight of him [f]. — That
 " if they did not trouble themselves, how An-
 " tony might take it, he begged them at least
 " to spare him the pain of seeing Antony ; which
 " he should never be able to bear : who in
 " speech lately to his parricides, when he was
 " distributing

[d] Ibid. 5.

[e] Ibid. 6.

[f] Ibid. 7.

“ distributing rewards to the boldest of them, A. Urb. 710.
 “ had promised Cicero’s estate to Petissius — Cic. 64.
 “ that he should never endure the sight of C. VIBIUS
 “ L. Antony : whose cruelty he could not have Pansa,
 “ escaped, but by the defence of his walls and A. HIRTIUS.
 “ gates, and the zeal of his native Town : that
 “ tho’ he might be able to command himself,
 “ and dissemble his uneasiness at the sight of
 “ Antony and his crew, yet some regard should
 “ be had to his life ; not that he set any value
 “ upon it himself, but it ought not to be thought
 “ despicable by the Senate and People of *Rome* :
 “ since, if he did not deceive himself, it was
 “ he, who by his watchings, cares and votes,
 “ had managed matters so, that all the attempts
 “ of their enemies had not hitherto been able to
 “ do them any harm [g]. — That if his life
 “ had been oft attempted at home, where the
 “ fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all
 “ *Rome* were his guard ; what might he not
 “ apprehend from so long a journey ? that there
 “ were three roads from *Rome* to *Modena* ; the
 “ *Flaminian* along the upper sea ; the *Aurelian*
 “ along the lower ; the *Cassian* in the middle —
 “ that they were all of them beset by Antony’s
 “ allies, his own utter enemies : the *Cassian* by
 “ Lento ; the *Flaminian* by Ventidius ; the *Au-*
 “ *relian* by the whole *Clodian* family [b]. —
 “ That he would stay therefore in the City, if
 “ the Senate would give leave, which was his
 “ proper seat, his watch and station : that
 “ others might enjoy camps, Kingdoms, mili-
 “ tary commands ; he would take care of the
 “ City, and the affairs at home, in partnership
 “ with them ; that he did not refuse the charge ;
 Vol. III. M “ but

[g] Ibid. 8.

[b] Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 710: " but it was the people, who refused it for him:
 Cic. 64. " for no man was less timorous, tho' none more
 Coff. " cautious than he — that a statesman ought
 C. VIBIUS " to leave behind him a reputation of glory in
 Pansa, " dying; not the reproach of error and folly:
 A. HIRTIUS. " who, says he, does not bewail the death of
 " Trebonius? yet there are some who say, tho'
 " it is hard indeed to say it, that he is the less
 " to be pitied, for not keeping a better guard,
 " against a base and detestable villain: for wise
 " men tell us, that he who professes to guard
 " the lives of others, ought in the first place
 " to keep a guard upon his own [i]. — That
 " if he should happen to escape all the snares
 " of the road, that Antony's rage was so fu-
 " rious, that he would never suffer him to re-
 " turn alive from the congress — that when
 " he was a young voluntier in the wars of *Italy*,
 " he was present at a conference of Cn. Pom-
 " pey the Consul, and P. Vettius the General
 " of the Marfi, held between the two Camps:
 " there was no fear, no suspicion, nor any vio-
 " lent hatred on either side — that there was
 " an interview likewise between Sylla and Sci-
 " pio, in their civil wars, where tho' faith was
 " not strictly observed, yet no violence was
 " offered [k] — but the case was different in
 " treating with Antony, where, if others could
 " be safe, he at least could not: that Antony
 " would never come into their camp; much less
 " they into his — that if they transacted affairs
 " by Letter, his opinion would always be one
 " and the same; to reduce every thing to the
 " will of the Senate: that this would be misre-
 " presented to the Veterans, as severe and per-
 " verse;

[i] Ibid. 10.

[k] Ibid. 11.

“ verse ; and might excite them perhaps to
 “ some violence — let my life therefore, says
 “ he, be reserved to the service of my country,
 “ as long as either dignity or nature will allow :
 “ let my death fall by the necessary course of
 “ fate ; or if I must meet it sooner, let me meet
 “ it with glory — Since the Republic then,
 “ to speak the most moderately, has no occa-
 “ sion for this Embassy ; yet if I can undertake
 “ it with safety, I will go ; and in this whole
 “ affair will govern myself intirely, Fathers,
 “ not by a regard to my own danger, but to
 “ the service of the state ; and after the most
 “ mature deliberation, will resolve to do that
 “ which I shall judge to be most useful to the
 “ public Interest.” —

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTIUS.

THO’ he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropt ; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards Gaul, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battel with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

ANTONY at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsils of the Senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also by his Letters to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause which they were now serving : but their answers seem to have been short and firm ; referring him constantly to the authority of the Senate : yet as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them ; and in the following expostulatory Letter reproached them with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering them-

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ,

A. HIRTIUS.

“ selves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to
 “ revive the *Pompeian cause*, and establish a pow-
 “ er, which in the end would destroy them.

Antonius to Hirtius and Cæsar.

“ Upon the news of Trebonius’s death, I was
 “ equally affected both with joy and with grief.
 “ It was matter of real joy to me, to see a vil-
 “ lain suffer the vengeance due to the ashes of
 “ the most illustrious of men; and that within
 “ the circle of the current year, the divine pro-
 “ vidence has displayed itself, by the punish-
 “ ment of parricide, inflicted already on some,
 “ and ready to fall upon the rest. But on the
 “ other hand, it is a subject of just grief to me,
 “ that Dolabella should be declared an enemy,
 “ because he has killed a murderer; and that
 “ the son of a Buffoon should be dearer to the
 “ people of *Rome*, than Cæsar, the Father of
 “ his country: but the cruellest reflection of all
 “ is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæsar’s
 “ favors, and left by him in a condition, which
 “ you yourself wonder at; and you too, young
 “ man, who owe every thing to his name, are
 “ doing all which is in your power, that Dola-
 “ bella may be thought justly condemned; that
 “ this wretch be delivered from the siege; and
 “ Cassius and Brutus be invested with all power.
 “ You look upon the present state of things as
 “ people did upon the past; call Pompey’s
 “ camp the Senate; have made the vanquished
 “ Cicero your Captain; are strengthening *Ma-*
 “ *cedonia* with armies; have given *Africa* to
 “ Varus, twice a prisoner; have sent Cassius
 “ into *Syria*; suffered Casca to act as Tribune;
 “ suppressed the revenues of the *Julian Luperci*;
 “ abolished the colonies of Veterans, established

“ by

"by law, and the decree of the Senate; pro- A. Urb. 710.
 "mise to restore to the people of *Marfeilles*, Cic. 64.
 "what was taken from them by right of war; Coss.
 "forget that a *Pompeian* was made incapable of C. VIBIUS
 "any dignity by Hirtius's law; have supplied Pansa,
 "Brutus with Appuleius's money; applauded A. HIRTIUS.
 "the putting to death Poetus and Menedemus,
 "Cæsar's friends, whom he made free of the
 "City; took no notice of Theopompus, when
 "stript and banished by Trebonius, he fled to
 "*Alexandria*: you see Ser. Galba in your Camp,
 "armed with the same poignard with which he
 "stabbed Cæsar; have enlisted my soldiers,
 "and other Veterans, on pretence of destroying
 "those who killed Cæsar; and then employ
 "them, before they know what they are doing,
 "against their Quæstor, or their General, or
 "their Comrades — what have you not done,
 "which Pompey himself, were he alive, or his
 "son, if he could, would not do? in short,
 "you deny that any peace can be made, unless
 "I set Brutus at liberty, or supply him with
 "provisions: can this please those Veterans,
 "who have not yet declared themselves? for as
 "to your part, you have sold yourselves to the
 "flatteries and poisoned honors of the Senate.
 "But you come, you say, to preserve the troops
 "which are besieged. I am not against their
 "being saved, or going where-ever you please,
 "if they will but leave him to perish who has
 "deserved it. You write me word, that the
 "mention of concord has been revived in the
 "Senate, and five Consular Embassadors ap-
 "pointed: it is hard to believe, that those who
 "have driven me to this extremity, when I of-
 "fered the fairest conditions, and was willing
 "to remit some part of them, should do any
 "thing

- A. Urb. 710. " thing with moderation or humanity: nor is
 Cic. 64. " it probable, that the same men, who voted
 Coff. " Dolabella an enemy for a most laudable act,
 C. VIBIUS " can ever forgive me, who am in the same
 Pansa, " sentiments with him. Wherefore it is your
 A. HIRTIUS. " business to reflect, which of the two is the
 " more eligible, or more useful to our common
 " interest; to revenge the death of Trebonius,
 " or of Cæsar: and which the more equitable;
 " for us to act against each other, that the *Pom-*
 " *peian* cause, so often defeated, may recover
 " itself; or to join our forces, lest we become
 " at last the sport of our enemies; who, which
 " of us soever may happen to fall, are sure to
 " be the gainers. But fortune has hitherto pre-
 " vented that spectacle; unwilling to see two
 " armies, like members of the same body, fight-
 " ing against each other; and Cicero all the
 " while, like a master of Gladiators, matching
 " us, and ordering the Combat: who is so far
 " happy, as to have caught you with the same
 " bait, with which he brags to have caught
 " Cæsar. For my part, I am resolved to suffer
 " no affront, either to myself, or my friends
 " nor to desert the party which Pompey hated
 " nor to see the Veterans driven out of their
 " possessions, and dragged one by one to the
 " rack; nor to break my word with Dolabella
 " nor to violate my league with Lepidus,
 " most religious man; nor to betray Plancus
 " the partner of all my counsils. If the immor-
 " tal Gods support me, as I hope they will,
 " the pursuit of so good a cause, I shall follow
 " with pleasure; but if any other fate expect
 " me, I taste a joy however before-hand, in the
 " sure foresight of your punishment: for if the
 " *Pompeians* are so insolent when conquered

“how much more they will be so when Con-
 “querors, it will be your lot to feel. In a word,
 “this is the summ of my resolution: I can for-
 “give the injuries of my friends, if they them-
 “selves are disposed, either to forget them, or
 “prepared in conjunction with me, to revenge
 “the death of Cæsar: I cannot believe that any
 “Embassadors will come; when they do, I
 “shall know what they have to demand [1].”
 Hirtius and Cæsar, instead of answering this
 Letter, sent it directly to Cicero at Rome, to
 make what use of it he thought fit with the Se-
 nate or the people.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 Pansa,
 A. HIRTIUS.

IN this interval Lepidus wrote a public Let-
 ter to the Senate, to exhort them to measures of
 peace, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by
 contriving some way of reconciling Antony and
 his friends to the service of their country; with-
 out giving the least intimation of his thanks for
 the public honors, which they had lately decreed
 to him. This was not at all agreeable to the
 Senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of
 his disaffection to the Republic, and good un-
 derstanding with Antony. They agreed how-
 ever to a vote proposed by Servilius, “that
 “Lepidus should be thanked for his love of
 “peace, and care of the Citizens, yet should
 “be desired not to trouble himself any farther
 “about it, but to leave that affair to them;
 “who thought, that there could be no peace,
 “unless Antony should lay down his arms, and
 “sue for it.” This Letter gave Antony’s friends
 a fresh handle to renew their instances for a trea-
 ty, for the sake of obliging Lepidus, who had
 in his power, they said, to force them to it: which

M 4

put

[1] Vid. Phil. 13. 10. &c.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

Pansa,

A. HIRTIUS.

put Cicero once more to the trouble of confuting and exposing all their arguments. He told them, " that he was ever afraid from the first, lest an " insidious offer of peace should damp the common zeal, for the recovery of their liberty: " that whoever delighted in discord, and the " blood of Citizens, ought to be expelled from " the society of human kind: yet it was to be " considered, whether there were not some wars " wholly inexpiable; where no peace could be " made, and where a treaty of peace was but a " stipulation of slavery [*m*]: that the war now " on foot was of this sort; undertaken against " a sett of men who were natural enemies to society; whose onely pleasure it was to oppress, " plunder, and murder their fellow-creatures; " and to restore such to the City, was to destroy " the City itself [*n*]. — That they ought to " remember what decrees they had already made " against them; such as had never been made " against a foreign enemy, or any, with whom " there could be peace — that since wisdom, " as well as fortitude, was expected from men " of their rank, tho' these indeed could hardly " be separated, yet he was willing to consider " them separately, and follow what wisdom the " more cautious and guarded of the two prescribed. — If wisdom then, says he, should " command me to hold nothing so dear as life; " to decree nothing at the hazard of my head; " to avoid all danger, tho' slavery was sure to " be the consequence; I would reject that wisdom, be it ever so learned: but if it teaches " us to preserve our lives, our fortunes, our families, yet so, as to think them inferior to liberty;

" berty;

[*m*] Phil. 13. 1.[*n*] Ibid. 2.

" berty ; to wish to enjoy them no longer than A. Urb. 710.
 " we can do it in a free Republic ; not to part Cic. 64.
 " with our liberty for them, but to throw them Coff.
 " all away for liberty, as exposing us onely to C. VIBIUS
 " greater mischief without it ; I would then li- PANSA,
 " sten to her voice, and obey her as a God [o]. A. HIRTIUS.
 " That no man had a greater respect for Lepi-
 " dus than himself ; and tho' there had been an
 " old friendship between them, yet he valued
 " him, not so much for that, as his services to
 " the public, in prevailing with young Pom-
 " pey to lay down his arms, and free his coun-
 " try from the misery of a cruel war : that the
 " Republic had many pledges of fidelity from
 " Lepidus ; his great nobility ; great honors ;
 " High Priesthood ; many parts of the City
 " adorned by him and his Ancestors ; his wife,
 " children, great fortunes, pure from any taint
 " of civil blood ; no Citizen ever hurt, many
 " preserved by him : that such a man might err
 " in judgment, but could never wilfully be an
 " enemy to his country. — That his desire of
 " peace was laudable, if he could make such a
 " peace for them now, as when he restored
 " Pompey to them. — That for this they had
 " decreed him greater honors, than had been
 " given before to any man, a statue with a splen-
 " did inscription, and a triumph even in ab-
 " sence [p]. — That by good fortune they had
 " managed matters so, that Pompey's return
 " might consist with the validity of Cæsar's acts,
 " which, for the sake of peace, they had con-
 " firmed ; since they had decreed to Pompey
 " the five millions and half, which was raised
 " by the sale of his estates, to enable him to buy
 " them

[o] Ibid. 3.

[p] Ibid. 4.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ them again: he desired, that the task of re-
 “ placing him in the possessions of his Ancestors,
 “ might be committed to him for his old friend-
 “ ship with his Father: that it should be his
 “ first care to nominate him *an Augur*, and re-
 “ pay the same favor to the Son, which he him-
 “ self received from the Father [q]: that those
 “ who had seen him lately at *Marseilles*, brought
 “ word, that he was ready to come with his
 “ troops to the relief of *Modena*, but that he
 “ was afraid of giving offence to the Veterans:
 “ which shewed him to be the true Son of that
 “ Father, who used to act with as much pru-
 “ dence as courage. — That it was Lepidus’s
 “ business to take care, not to be thought to act
 “ with more arrogance than became him: that
 “ if he meant to frighten them with his army,
 “ he should remember, that it was the army of
 “ the Senate and People of *Rome*, not his own
 “ [r]. — That if he interposed his authority
 “ without arms, that was indeed the more lau-
 “ dable, but would hardly be thought necessa-
 “ ry. — For tho’ his authority was as great
 “ with them, as that of the noblest Citizen ought
 “ to be, yet the Senate was not unmindful of
 “ their own dignity; and there never was a gra-
 “ ver, firmer, stouter Senate, than the present.
 “ — That they were all so incensed against
 “ the enemies of their liberty, that no man’s
 “ authority could repress their ardor, or extort
 “ their arms from them. — That they hoped
 “ the best, but would rather suffer the worst,
 “ than live slaves [s]. — That there was no
 “ danger to be apprehended from Lepidus, since
 “ he could not enjoy the splendor of his own
 “ fortunes,

[q] Ibid. 5.

[r] Ibid. 6.

[s] Ibid. 7.

“ fortunes, but with the safety of all honest men. A. Urb. 710.
 “ — That nature first makes men honest, but Cic. 64.
 “ fortune confirms them: for tho’ it was the C. VIBIUS
 “ common interest of all to promote the safety Pansa.
 “ of the public, yet it was more particularly of A. HIRTIUS.
 “ those who were happy in their fortunes. —
 “ That no body was more so than Lepidus, and
 “ no body therefore better disposed: of which
 “ the people saw a remarkable instance, in the
 “ concern which he expressed, when Antony
 “ offered a Diadem to Cæsar, and chose to be
 “ his slave, rather than his Colleague: for which
 “ single act, if he had been guilty of nothing
 “ else, he had richly deserved the worst punish-
 “ ment [1].” — Then after inveighing, as usu-
 al, against Antony thro’ several pages, he de-
 clared *all thoughts of peace with him to be vain,*
and for a fresh proof of it produced his last Let-
ter to Hirtius and Octavius, and read it publicly
 to the assembly: *not that he thought it worth*
reading, he says, *but to let them see his traiterous*
views openly avowed and confessed by himself. He
 read it to them paragraph by paragraph, with
 his own comment and remarks upon it; rallying
 all along with great wit and spirit, “ the rage,
 “ the extravagance, the inconsistency, the folly,
 “ and the inaccuracy of each sentence.” On the
 whole, he says, “ that if Lepidus had seen it,
 “ he would neither have advised, or thought
 “ any peace with him possible. — That fire
 “ and water would sooner unite, than the An-
 “ tony’s be reconciled to the Republic. — That
 “ the first and best thing therefore was, to con-
 “ quer; the second, to decline no danger for
 “ the liberty of their country; that there was
 “ no

[1] Ibid. 8.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ no third thing, but the last and worst of all,
 “ to submit to the utmost baseness, thro’ a de-
 “ fire of living. — For which reasons he decla-
 “ red his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote
 “ upon Lepidus’s Letters; and proposed an ad-
 “ ditional decree, either to be joined to the
 “ other, or published separately. — That Pom-
 “ pey the Great, the son of Cnæus, in offering
 “ his service and his troops to the Senate and
 “ People of *Rome*, had acted agreeably to the
 “ courage and zeal of his Father and Ancestors;
 “ and to his own virtue, industry, and good
 “ disposition to the Republic: and that the
 “ thing was grateful and acceptable to the Se-
 “ nate and People, and would hereafter be an
 “ honor to himself.”

AFTER the debate, which ended as Cicero wished, he sent the following short Letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldness and negligence with which it is drawn, seems to be designed to let Lepidus see, that they were perfectly easy and secure at *Rome*, whatever measures he might think fit to take.

CICERO TO LEPIDUS.

“ WHILE out of the great respect which I
 “ bear to you, I am making it my particular
 “ care, to advance your dignity as much as pos-
 “ sible, it was a concern to me to see, that you
 “ did not think it worth while to return your
 “ thanks to the Senate, for the extraordinary
 “ honors, which they have lately conferred up-
 “ on you. I rejoice however, that you are so
 “ desirous of making peace among Citizens: if
 “ you can separate that peace from slavery, you
 “ will consult both the good of the Republic,
 “ and your own dignity: but if the effect of it

“ be,

“ be, to restore a desperate man to an arbitrary
 “ dominion ; I would have you to know, that
 “ all men of sense have taken a resolution, to
 “ prefer death to servitude. You will act more
 “ wisely therefore in my judgement, if you
 “ meddle no farther with that affair of peace :
 “ which is not agreeable either to the Senate,
 “ or the People, or to any honest man : but
 “ you will hear enough of this from others, or
 “ be informed of it by Letters ; and will be di-
 “ rected by your own prudence, what is the best
 “ for you to do [u].”

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

PLANCUS too, who commanded in *Gaul*,
 and now resided near *Lyons*, at the Head of a
 brave army, enforced Lepidus's advice, by a
 Letter likewise to the Senate on the same subject
 of peace ; to which Cicero wrote the following
 answer :

CICERO to PLANCUS.

“ THE account, which our friend Furnius
 “ brought of your affection to the Republic,
 “ was highly agreeable both to the Senate and
 “ People of *Rome* : but your Letter, when read
 “ in the Senate, did not seem to agree with
 “ Furnius's report : for you advised us to peace,
 “ when your Colleague, a man of the greatest
 “ eminence, was besieged by most infamous
 “ Plunderers ; who ought either to sue for
 “ peace, by laying down their arms, or if they
 “ demand it with sword in hand, it must be
 “ procured by victory, not treaty. But in what
 “ manner your Letters, as well as Lepidus's
 “ also, were received, you will understand from
 “ that

[u] Ep. fam. x. 27.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ that excellent man your brother, and from
 “ Furnius, &c. [x].”

C. ANTONY, whom we mentioned above, to have retreated with *seven Cohorts* to Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to *Buthrotum*, to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote: but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of Brutus's army, he lost *three of his Cohorts* in the action; and in a second engagement with another body of troops, which *young Cicero* commanded, was intirely routed and taken prisoner: which made Brutus absolute Master of the Country, without any farther opposition [y]. This fresh success gave occasion for a second Letter from Brutus to the Senate; of which Cicero makes the following mention; “ Your Letter, “ says he, which was read in the Senate, shews “ the Counsil of the General, the virtue of your “ soldiers, the industry of your officers, and in “ particular of my Cicero. If your friends had “ been willing to move the Senate upon it; and “ if it had not fallen into most turbulent times, “ since the departure of Pansa, some just and “ proper honor would have been decreed for it “ to the Gods [z].” —

[x] Ibid. 6.

[y] Plutar. in Brut.

[z] Tuæ litteræ, quæ in
 Senatu recitatæ sunt, & Im-
 peratoris consilium & mili-
 tum virtutem, & industriam
 tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis
 mei declarant. Quod si tuis

placuisse de his litteris re-
 ferri, & nisi in tempus tur-
 bulentissimum post discessum
 Pansæ incidissent, honos quo-
 que justus ac debitus Diis im-
 mortalibus decretus esset. Ad
 Brut. 2. 7.

THE

[a] A
 bilcum
 moveon
 timeo
 furor e
 Quod
 ceret,

THE taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him: if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the Republic: if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, lest some sedition might be raised on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted Cicero therefore upon it by Letter — “C. Antony, says he, is still
“with me: but in truth, I am moved with
“the prayers of the man; and afraid, lest the
“madness of some should make him the occasion of mischief to me. I am wholly at a
“loss what to do with him. If I knew your
“mind, I should be at ease: for I should think
“that the best, which you advised [a].” —
Cicero’s advice was, *to keep him under a safe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus in Modena [b].* Brutus however treated him with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he not onely wrote to the Senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the stile of *Proconsul*; which surprized and shocked all his friends at *Rome*, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following terms.

“ ON

[a] Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed medius fidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem.

Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

[b] Quod me de Antonio consulis; quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ ON the thirteenth of *April*, says he, your
 “ messenger *Pilus* brought us two Letters, the
 “ one in your name, the other in *Antony's*;
 “ and gave them to *Servilius* the *Tribun*; he
 “ to *Cornutus* the *Prætor*. They were read in
 “ the Senate. *Antony Proconsul*, raised as
 “ much wonder as if it had been, *Dola-*
 “ *bella Emperor*; from whom also there came
 “ an express; but no body, like your *Pilus*,
 “ was so hardy, as to produce the Letters, or
 “ deliver them to the Magistrates. Your Let-
 “ ter was read; short indeed, but extremely
 “ mild towards *Antony*: the Senate was amazed
 “ at it. For my part, I did not know how to
 “ act. Should I affirm it to be forged? —
 “ What if you should own it? Should I admit
 “ it to be genuin? that was not for your honor.
 “ I chose therefore to be silent that day. On
 “ the next, when the affair had made some noise,
 “ and *Pilus's* carriage had given offence, I be-
 “ gan the debate, said much of *Proconsul An-*
 “ *tony*; *Sextius* performed his part, and ob-
 “ served to me afterwards in private, what dan-
 “ ger his son and mine would be liable to, if
 “ they had really taken up arms against a *Pro-*
 “ *consul*. You know the man; he did justice
 “ to the cause. Others also spoke; but our
 “ friend *Labeo* took notice, that your seal was
 “ not put to the Letter; nor any date added;
 “ nor had you written about it, as usual, to
 “ your friends; from which he maintained the
 “ Letter to be forged; and in short, convinced
 “ the House of it. It is now your part, *Bru-*
 “ *tus*, to consider the whole state and nature of
 “ the war: you are delighted, I perceive, with
 “ lenity; and think it the best way of pro-
 “ ceeding: this indeed is generally right; but

“ the

“ the proper place of clemency is, in cases and A. Urb. 710.
 “ seasons very different from the present : for Cic. 64.
 “ what are we doing now, Brutus? we see a Coss.
 “ needy and desperate crew threatening the very C. VIBIUS
 “ Temples of the Gods ; and that the war must PANSAS,
 “ necessarily decide, whether we are to live or A. HIRTIUS.
 “ not. Who is it then, whom we are sparing?
 “ or what is it, that we mean? are we consult-
 “ ing the safety of those, who, if they get the
 “ better, are sure not to leave the least remains
 “ of us? for what difference is there between
 “ Dolabella and any one of the three Antonys? if
 “ we spare any of these, we have been too severe
 “ to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my
 “ advice and authority, that the Senate and
 “ People are in this way of thinking, though
 “ the thing itself indeed also obliged them to it :
 “ if you do not approve this policy, I shall de-
 “ fend your opinion, but cannot depart from
 “ my own : the world expects from you no-
 “ thing either remiss or cruel : it is easy to mo-
 “ derate the matter, by severity to the Leaders,
 “ generosity to the soldiers [c].”

CICERO had now done every thing, that
 human prudence could do towards the recovery
 of the Republic : for all that vigor, with which
 it was making this last effort for itself, was in-
 tirely owing to his counsils and authority. As
 Antony was the most immediate and desperate
 enemy, who threatened it, so he had armed a-
 gainst him the whole strength of *Italy*, and
 raised up a force sufficient to oppress him.
 Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the most
 formidable to the friends of liberty ; but from
 the contrast of their personal interests, and their
 N jealousy

[c] Ad Brut. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÁ,

A. HIRTIUS.

jealousy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet so, as to provide at the same time against any present danger from Octavius, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the Consuls; whom, from being the late Ministers of Cæsar's Tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties, which he had to struggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the Commanders of the several Provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by Cæsar, the proper Creatures of his power, and the abettors of his Tyranny [*d*]; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it at least, by espousing the cause of some more powerfull pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not easily be persuaded to submit to a Senate, which they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependence on the Civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them by Letters, and inviting them by honors, to prefer the glory of saving their Country, to all other views whatsoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus: who by the strength of their armies, and their possession of *Gaul* and *Spain*, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the Republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first; yet managed them so well, by repre-

senting

[*d*] Vides Tyranni Satel- dem exercitus in latere vete-
lites in Imperiis: vides ejus- ranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

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[*e*] P
ub. e
auxilia,

senting the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the Senate, of the Consuls, and all *Italy*, that he forced them at least to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty; and above all, to stand neuter till the affairs of *Italy* were decided; on which the fate of the Republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn Plancus intirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to Brutus [e], and from Plancus's own Letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops to the relief of Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat. — Not long before which, Cicero sent him the following Letter.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ THOUGH I understood from the account of our friend Furnius, what your design and resolution was, with regard to the Republic; yet after reading your Letters, I was able to form a clearer judgement of your whole purpose. Wherefore, though the fate of the Commonwealth depends wholly on one bat-
tel, which will be decided, I believe, when you are reading this Letter, yet you have acquired great applause, by the very fame, which was every where spread, of your good intentions: and if there had been a Consul at Rome, the Senate, by decreeing some considerable honor to you, would have declared, how acceptable your endeavours and prepara-

N 2

“ tions

[e] Plancianimum in Rem- jus, quarum exemplum tibi
sub. egregium, legiones, missum arbitror, perspicere
auxilia, copias ex litteris c- potuisti. Ad Brut. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÁ,

A. HIRTIUS.

tions were. But that time is not onely not
yet past; but was not in my judgement even
ripe: for after all, that alone passes with me
for honor, which is conferred on great men,
not for the hopes of future, but the experi-
ence of past services. If then there be any
Republic, in which honor can have it's pro-
per luster, take my word for it, you shall
have your share of the greatest: though that,
which can truly be called honor, is not an in-
vitation to a temporary, but the reward of an
habitual virtue. Wherefore, my dear Plan-
cus, turn your whole thoughts towards glo-
ry: help your Country; fly to the relief of
your Collegue; support this wonderfull con-
sent, and concurrence of all nations: you will
ever find me the promotor of your counsils,
the favourer of your dignity, and on all occa-
sions most friendly and faithfull to you: for
to all the other motives of our union; our
mutual affection; good offices; old acquaint-
ance; the love of our Country, which is now
added, makes me prefer your life to my own.
Mar. 29th [f]."

PLANCUS in the mean time sent a second
Letter to the Senate, to assure them of his zeal
and resolution to adhere to them; and to ac-
quaint them with the steps, which he had already
taken for their service: upon which they decreed
him some extraordinary honors, at the motion of
Cicero, who sent him the following account of it.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"THOUGH out of regard to the Republic
my greatest joy ought to be, for your bring-
ing

ing such relief and help to it, in a time al- A. Urb. 710.
 most of extremity; yet may I so embrace you Cic. 64.
 after victory and the recovery of our liberty, Coss.
 as it is your dignity, that gives me the chief C. VIBIUS
 part of my pleasure; which already is, and PANSA,
 ever will be, I perceive, as great as possible. A. HIRTIUS.
 For I would not have you think, that any
 Letters were ever read in the Senate of greater
 weight than yours; both for the eminent me-
 rit of your services, and the gravity of your
 words and sentiments: which was not at all
 new to me, who was so well acquainted with
 you, and remembered the promises of your
 Letters to me; and understood the whole pur-
 pose of your counsils from our Furnius: but
 they appeared greater to the Senate, than was
 expected; not that they ever had any doubt
 of your inclinations; but did not fully under-
 stand, how much you were able to do, or
 how far you would expose yourself in the
 cause. When M. Varisidius therefore brought
 me your Letters very early, on the seventh
 of *April*, I was transported with joy upon
 reading them; and as a great multitude of
 excellent Citizens were then waiting to attend
 my going abroad, I instantly gave them all
 a part of my pleasure. In the mean while
 our friend Munatius, according to custom,
 came to join me: I presently shewed him
 your Letter, of which he knew nothing be-
 fore; for Varisidius came first to me, as you,
 he said, had ordered him: soon after, the
 same Munatius returned to me with the other
 two Letters; that, which you had sent to
 him, and that, to the Senate: we resolved
 to carry the last directly to the Prætor Cor-
 nutus; who, by the custom of our ancestors,
 N 3 “ supplies

A. Urb. 710. " supplies the place of the Consuls in their ab-
 Cic. 64. " fence. The Senate was immediately called;
 Coff. " and, upon the same and expectation of your
 C. VIBIUS " Letters, made up a full House. After they
 Pansa, " were read, a scruple of religion was objected
 A. HIRTIUS. " to Cornutus, from the report of the Guardi-
 " ans of the Chickens; that he had not duly
 " consulted the auspices; which was confirmed
 " likewise by our College: so that the affair
 " was adjourned to the next day. On that day
 " I had a great contest about your dignity with
 " Servilius, who procured by his interest, to
 " have his opinion declared the first: but the
 " Senate left him, and all went the contrary
 " way: but when they were coming into my
 " opinion, which was delivered the second;
 " the Tribun Titius, at his request, interposed
 " his negative; and so the debate was put off
 " again to the day following. Servilius came
 " prepared to support his opposition, though
 " against Jupiter himself, in whose Temple the
 " thing passed: in what manner I handled him,
 " and what a struggle I had to throw off Titi-
 " us's negative, I would have you learn rather
 " from other people's Letters; take this how-
 " ever from mine; that the Senate could not
 " possibly act with more gravity, firmness, and
 " regard to your honor, than it did on this oc-
 " casion; nor is the Senate more friendly to
 " you, than the whole City: for the body of
 " the people, and all ranks and orders of men
 " are wonderfully united in the defence of the
 " Republic. Go on therefore, as you have be-
 " gun, and recommend your name to immor-
 " tality: and for all these things, which, from
 " the vain badges of outward splendor, carry a
 " shew of glory, despise them; look upon
 " them,

“ them, as trifling, transitory, perishing.
 “ True honor is placed singly in virtue ; which
 “ is illustrated with most advantage by great
 “ services to our Country. You have the best
 “ opportunity for this in the world ; which
 “ since you have embraced, persevere, and go
 “ through with it ; that the Republic may not
 “ owe less to you, than you to the Republic :
 “ you will find me, not onely the favorer, but
 “ the advancer of your dignity : this I take my-
 “ self to owe, both to the Republic, which is
 “ dearer to me than my life, and to our friend-
 “ ship, &c. *April* the eleventh [g].”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSÆ,
 A. HIRTIUS.

PLANCUS answered him not long after to the following effect.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

“ IT is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I
 “ have never promised any thing rashly of my-
 “ self to you ; nor you, for me to others. In
 “ this you have the clearer proof of my love,
 “ that I desire to make you acquainted with my
 “ designs before any man else. You already
 “ see, I hope, that my services to the public
 “ will grow greater every day : I promise, that
 “ you shall soon be convinced of it. As for
 “ me, my dear Cicero, may the Republic be
 “ so delivered by my help from it’s present
 “ dangers, as I esteem your honors and rewards
 “ equal to an immortality ; yet were I still
 “ without them, I would remit nothing of my
 “ present zeal and perseverance. If in the mul-
 “ titude of excellent Citizens, I do not distin-
 “ guish myself by a singular vigor and industry,
 “ I desire no accession to my dignity from your
 “ favor :

N 4

[g] Ep. fam. x. 12.

A. Urb. 710. " favor: but in truth, I desire nothing at all
 Cic. 64. " for myself at present; nay, am even against
 Coff. " it; and willingly make you the arbiter both
 C. VIBIUS " of the time and the thing itself: a Citizen can
 Pansa, " think nothing late or little, which is given by
 A. HIRTIUS. " his country. I passed the *Rhone* with my
 " army by great journeys, on the 26th of
 " April; sent a thousand horse before me by a
 " shorter way from *Vienna*. As for myself, if
 " I am not hindered by Lepidus, none shall
 " complain of my want of expedition: if he
 " opposes me on my road, I shall take my mea-
 " sures from the occasion: the troops, which I
 " bring, are for number, kind, and fidelity,
 " extremely firm. I beg the continuance of
 " your affection, as long as you find yourself
 " assured of mine. Adieu [b]."

POLLIO likewise, who now commanded the
 farther *Spain* with three good Legions, though
 he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the
 strongest professions to Cicero of his resolution,
 to defend the Republic against all Invaders. In
 one of his Letters, after excusing himself, for
 not having written earlier and oftener, he says,
 " both my nature and studies draw me to the
 " desire of peace and liberty: for which reason
 " I always lamented the occasion of the late
 " war: but as it was not possible for me to be
 " of no party, because I had great enemies eve-
 " ry where, I ran from that camp, where I
 " could not be safe from the treachery of an e-
 " nemy; and being driven whither I least de-
 " sired, freely exposed myself to dangers, that
 " I might not make a contemptible figure a-
 " mong those of my rank. As for Cæsar him-
 " self,

self, I loved him with the utmost piety and fidelity, because he treated me on the foot of his oldest friends, though known to him only in the height of his fortunes. When I was at liberty to act after my own mind, I acted so, that the best men should most applaud me: what I was commanded to do, I did so, as to shew, that it was done by command, and not by inclination. The unjust odium, which I suffered on that account, has sufficiently convinced me, how sweet a thing liberty is, and how wretched is life under the dominion of another. If the contest then be, to bring us all again under the power of one; whoever that one be, I profess myself his enemy: nor is there any danger, which I would decline, or wish to avoid, for the sake of liberty. But the Consuls have not, either by decree or Letters, given me any orders what to do: I have had but one Letter from Pansa, since the Ides of *March*; in which he exhorts me, to signify to the Senate, that I and my army would be in their power: but when Lepidus was declaring openly to his army, and writing to every body, that he was in the same sentiments with Antony, that step would have been wholly absurd and improper for me: for how could I get forage for my troops against his will, in marching through his Province? or if I had surmounted all other difficulties, could I fly over the *Alps*, which were possessed by his garrisons? — No body will deny, that I declared publicly to my soldiers at *Corduba*, that I would not deliver the Province to any man, unless he were commissioned by the Senate — wherefore you are to look upon me, as one, who,

“ in

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

- A. Urb. 710. " in the first place, am extremely desirous of
 Cic. 64. " peace, and the safety of all the Citizens ; in
 Coff. " the second, prepared to assert my own and
 C. VIBIUS " my country's liberty. I am more pleased,
 Pansa. " than you can imagine, that my friend Gallus
 A. HIRTIUS. " is so dear to you : I envy him for walking,
 " and joking with you : you will ask perhaps,
 " at what rate I value that privilege : you shall
 " know by experience, if ever it be in our
 " power to live in quiet : for I will never stir
 " one step from you. I am surprized, that
 " you never signified in your Letters, how I
 " should be able to do the most service, by stay-
 " ing in the Province, or bringing my army
 " into *Italy*. For my part, though to stay be
 " more safe, and less troublesome ; yet since I
 " see, that in such a time as this, there is more
 " want of Legions, than of Provinces, which
 " may easily be recovered ; I am resolved, as
 " things now stand, to come away with my
 " army — from *Corduba* the fifteenth of
 " *March* [i]."

THERE are several Letters also still extant, written at this time from Cicero to Cornificius, who governed *Afric* ; exhorting him in the same manner to firmness in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his Province from all Invaders, who should attempt to extort it from him : and this man, after all, was the onely Commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his Country ; and lost his life at last in maintaining that Province in it's allegiance to the Republic [k].

P. SER-

[i] Ep. fam. x. 31.

&c. App. l. 4. 621. Dio

[k] Vid. Ep. fam. 12. 24. l. 48. 307.

P. SERVILIUS, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the Senate, was a person of great rank and nobility; had been Consul with J. Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war; the Son of that Servilius, who by his conquests near *mount Taurus*, obtained the surname of *Isauricus*. He affected the character of a Patriot, but having had a particular friendship with Antony, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to set him up as a Rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obstructed Cicero's measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed: Cicero had long suffered this with patience, out of regard to the public service; still provoked by his late opposition in the affair of *Plancus*, he could not forbear treating him with an unusual severity and resentment; of which he gives an account in a Letter to Brutus.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTIUS.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"FROM *Plancus's* Letters, of which a copy, I imagine, has been sent to you, you will perceive his excellent disposition towards the Republic, with the condition of his Legions, auxiliaries, and whole forces. Your own people have informed you, I guess, by this time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend *Lepidus*; who, next to his own brother, hates you, his near relations, the most. We are anxious with an expectation, which is now reduced to the last crisis: all our hopes are fix'd on the delivery of *D. Brutus*; for whom we have been in great apprehension. For my
" part,

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ part, I have business enough on my hands at
 “ home, with the Madman, Servilius; whom
 “ I have endured longer than became my dig-
 “ nity: but I did it for the sake of the Repub-
 “ lic; lest I should give the disaffected a Lea-
 “ der, not well affected indeed himself, yet
 “ noble to resort to; which nevertheless they
 “ still do. But I was not for alienating him
 “ wholly from the Republic: I have now put
 “ an end to my forbearance of him; for he
 “ began to be so insolent, that he looked upon
 “ no man as free. But in Plancus’s debate he
 “ was strangely mortified; and after two days
 “ contest, was so roughly handled by me, that
 “ he will be the modefter, I dare say, for the
 “ future. In the midst of our contention, on
 “ the nineteenth of *April*, I had Letters deli-
 “ vered to me in the Senate, from our friend
 “ Lentulus in *Asia*; with an account of Cassius,
 “ the Legions, and *Syria*; which when I read
 “ presently in public, Servilius sunk, and many
 “ more besides; for there are some of eminent
 “ rank, who think most wickedly: but Ser-
 “ vilius was most sensibly chagrined, for the
 “ Senate’s agreeing to my motion about Plan-
 “ cus. The part which he acts is monstrous
 “ [1].”

THE news, which is mentioned in this Let-
 ter to have been sent by Lentulus, of Cassius’s
 success, was soon after confirmed by particular
 Letters to Cicero, from Brutus and Cassius them-
 selves; signifying, “ that Cassius had possessed
 “ himself of *Syria* before Dolabella arrived
 “ there: that the Generals L. Murcus and Q.
 “ Crispus had given up their armies to him:”

that a separate Legion under Cæcilius Bassus A. Urb. 710.
 had submitted to him against the will of their Cic. 64.
 Leader: that four other Legions, sent by C. VIBIUS
 Cleopatra from *Egypt*, to the assistance of PANSÆ.
 Dolabella, under his Lieutenant Allienus, had A. HIRTIUS.
 all declared for him:" and lest the first Let-
 ter should miscarry, as they often did, from such
 distance, by passing thro' the enemy's quar-
 ters, Cassius sent him a second, with a more full
 and distinct account of all particulars.

Cassius Proconsul to his Friend M. Cicero.

"IF you are in health, it is a pleasure to me,
 I am also very well. I have read your Let-
 ter, in which I perceived your wonderful af-
 fection for me: for you not onely wish me
 well, which indeed you have always done,
 both for my own sake and the Republic's,
 but entertain an uncommon concern and sol-
 licitude for me. Wherefore, as I imagined,
 in the first place, that you would think it
 impossible for me to sit still, and see the Re-
 public oppressed; and in the second, that
 whenever you supposed me to be in action,
 you would be solicitous about my safety and
 success; so, as soon as I was master of the
 Legions which Allienus brought from *Egypt*,
 I immediately wrote to you, and sent several
 expresses to *Rome*: I wrote Letters also to
 the Senate, but forbad the delivery of them,
 till they had been first shewn to you. If these
 Letters have not reached you, I make no
 doubt but that Dolabella, who, by the wic-
 ked murder of Trebonius, is master of *Asia*,
 has seized my messengers, and intercepted
 them. I have all the armies which were in
 Syria under my command; and having been
 " forced

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

Pansa.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ forced to sit still a while, till I had dischar-
 “ ged my promises to them, am now ready to
 “ take the field. I beg of you to take my ho-
 “ nor and interests under your special care: for
 “ you know that I have never refused any dan-
 “ ger or labor for the service of my country:
 “ that by your advice and authority I took
 “ arms against these infamous Robbers: that
 “ I have not onely raised armies for the defence
 “ of the Republic and our liberty, but have
 “ snatched them from the hands of the most
 “ cruel Tyrants: which if Dolabella had seized
 “ before me, he would have given fresh spirit
 “ to Antony’s cause; not onely by the ap-
 “ proach, but by the very fame and expecta-
 “ tion of his troops: for which reasons, take
 “ my soldiers, I beseech you, under your pro-
 “ tection, if you think them to have deserved
 “ well of the state: and let none of them have
 “ reason to repent, that they have preferred
 “ the cause of the Republic, to the hopes of
 “ plunder and rapine. Take care also, as far
 “ as it is in your power, that due honor be
 “ paid to the Emperors Murcus and Crispus:
 “ for Bassus was miserably unwilling to deliver
 “ up his Legion; and if his soldiers had not
 “ sent a deputation to me in spite of him,
 “ would have held out *Apamea* against me, till
 “ it could be taken by force. I beg this of you,
 “ not onely for the sake of the Republic, which
 “ of all things was ever the dearest to you, but
 “ of our friendship also, which I am confident
 “ has a great weight with you. Take my word
 “ for it, the army which I have is the Senate’s,
 “ and every honest man’s, and above all, yours:
 “ for by hearing perpetually of your good dis-
 “ position, they have conceived a wonderful
 “ affection

“affection for you; and when they come to
 “understand, that you make their interests your
 “special care, they will think themselves in-
 “debted to you for every thing. Since I wrote
 “this, I have heard that Dolabella is come in-
 “to *Cilicia* with all his forces: I will follow
 “him thither; and take care that you shall
 “soon be informed of what I have done. I
 “wish onely that my success may be answer-
 “able to my good intentions. Continue the
 “care of your health and your love to me
 “[*m*].”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTIUS.

BRUTUS, who had sent this good news be-
 fore to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and
 sister Tertia, charged the latter, *not to make it*
public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether
it was proper to do so or not [*n*]. He was afraid,
 lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give um-
 brage to the Cæsarian party; and raise a jealousy
 in the Leaders, who were acting against Antony,
 that the Republican interest would grow too strong
 for them. But Cicero sent him word, that the
 news was already known at Rome, before his
 letters arrived; and tho' there was some ground
 for his apprehensions, yet on the whole, they thought
 more adviseable to publish than to suppress it [*o*].
 THUS Cicero, as he declared to the Senate,
 by his Letters, expresses, and exhortations, was
 perpetually exciting all, who had power or com-
 mand

[*m*] Ep. fam. 12. 12. vid.

[*o*] Video te veritum esse,
 id quod verendum fuit, ne
 animi partium Cæsaris—ve-
 hementer commoverentur.
 Sed antequam tuas litteras ac-
 cepimus, audita res erat &
 pervulgata—ib. 6.

[*n*] Ego scripsi ad Tertiam
 matrem & matrem, ne prius
 erent hoc, quod optime ac-
 curatissime gessit Cassius, quam
 tum consilium cognovissent.
 Brut. 2. 5.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

mand in any part of the Empire, to the common defence of their liberty [p]; and for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to struggle with at home. These were particularly troublesome to him at this time, by spreading false reports every day from Modena, of Antony's success, or what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the Consuls against D. Brutus: which raised such a terror thro' the City, that all honest men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Cassius [q]. Cicero however was not disheartened at it, but in the general consternation appeared chearful and easy; and, as he sends word to Brutus, *had a perfect confidence in the Consuls, while the majority of his friends distrusted them*; and from the number and firmness of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battle with Antony [r]. But what touched him more sensibly, was a story, kept up for some days with great industry, that he had formed a design to make himself master of the City, and declare himself Dictator; and would appear publicly with the Fasces within a day or two. The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed

him

[p] Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriæ præsidium excitatos. Phil. 14. 7.

[q] Triduo vero aut quadriduo—timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus & liberis effundebat. Ad Brutum. 3. vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 8.

[r] Tristes enim de Bruto nostro litteræ, nuncique af-

ferēbantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. Hi enim exercitibus, ducibusque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque assentiebam majori parti hominum. Fidem enim Consulum non condemnabam quæ suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam nonnullam in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

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him; but when Appuleius, the Tribun, one of A. Urb. 710.
his warm friends, was taking pains to confute Cic. 64.
it, and justify him in a speech to the people, Coss.
they all cried out with one voice, that Cicero C. VIBIUS
had never done, nor designed to do any thing, but Pansa,
what was the best and most beneficial to the Re- A. HIRTIUS.
public [s]: this gave him some comfort; but
what brought him much greater was, the cer-
tain news of a victory gained over Antony at Mo-
dena, which arrived within a few hours after
Appuleius's speech [t].

THE siege of Modena, which lasted near four
months, was one of the most memorable in all
antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and
the defence. Antony had invested it so closely,
and posted himself so advantageously, that no
succours could be thrown into it: and Brutus,
though reduced to the utmost straits, defended
it still with the greatest resolution. The old
writers have recorded some stratagems, which
are said to have been put in practice on this oc-
casion; "how Hirtius provided men skilled in
diving, with Letters written on Lead, to pass
into the Town under the river, which runs
through it; till Antony obstructed that pas-
sage, by nets and traps placed under water:
which gave occasion to another contrivance,
of sending their intelligence backwards and
forwards by Pigeons [u]."

VOL. III.

O

PANSA

[.] Itaque P. Appuleius—
coloris mei concionem habuit
maximam—in qua, cum me
—liberare suspicione *fascium*
—ellet; una voce cuncta con-
—io declaravit, nihil esse a me
—quam de Repub. nisi opti-
—me cogitatum. Phil. 14. 6.

[t] Post hanc concionem
duabus tribusve horis optatif-
simi nuntii & litteræ vene-
runt—ibid —

[u] Frontin. de Stratagem.
1. 3. 13. Plin. Hist. N. 1. x.
37. Dio. p. 315.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

PANSA was now upon the point of joining Hirtius, with four Legions of new levies, which he brought from *Rome*; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with design to surprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a Letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba, one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA TO CICERO.

“ ON the fifteenth of *April*, the day on
 “ which Pansa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp,
 “ (in whose company I was, for I went a hun-
 “ dred miles to meet him, on purpose to hasten
 “ his march) Antony drew out two of his Le-
 “ gions, the second and thirty-fifth; and two
 “ *Prætorian* cohorts; the one his own, the o-
 “ ther Silanus's, with part of the *Evocati* [x];
 “ and came forward towards us, imagining,
 “ that we had nothing but four Legions of new
 “ Levies. But in the night, to secure our
 “ march to the Camp, Hirtius had sent us the
 “ *Martial* Legion, which I used to command,
 “ and two *Prætorian* cohorts. As soon as An-
 “ tony's Horse appeared in sight, neither the
 “ *Martial* Legion, nor the *Prætorian* cohorts
 “ could be restrained from attacking them; so
 “ that

[x] The *Evocati* were a choice body of Veteran Soldiers, who, after their dismission from service, being yet vigorous and fit for war,

were invited to it again, as a sort of volunteers, by the Consul or General, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges.

“ that when we could not hold them in, we
 “ were obliged to follow them against our wills.
 “ Antony kept his forces within *Castel-Fran-*
 “ *co* [y]; and being unwilling to have it
 “ known, that he had his Legions with him,
 “ shewed onely his horse and light-armed foot.
 “ When Pansa saw the *Martial* Legion running
 “ forward against his orders, he commanded
 “ two of the new raised Legions to follow him.
 “ As soon as we got through the straits of the
 “ Morafs and the woods, we drew up the
 “ twelve cohorts in order of battel. The other
 “ two Legions were not yet come up. Antony
 “ immediately brought all his troops out of the
 “ village, ranged likewise in order of battel,
 “ and without delay engaged us. At first they
 “ fought so briskly on both sides, that nothing
 “ could possibly be fiercer : tho’ the right wing,
 “ in which I was, with eight Cohorts of the
 “ *Martial* Legion, put Antony’s thirty-fifth
 “ Legion to flight at the first onset, and pur-
 “ sued it above five hundred paces from the
 “ place where the action began : wherefore ob-
 “ serving the enemy’s horse attempting to sur-
 “ round our wing, I began to retreat, and or-
 “ dered the light-armed troops to make head
 “ against the Moorish Horse, and prevent their
 “ coming upon us behind. In the mean while
 “ I perceived myself in the midst of Antony’s
 “ men, and Antony himself but a little way
 “ behind me : upon which, with my shield
 “ thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on my
 “ horse with all speed towards the new Legion

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTIUS.

O 2

“ that

[y] Ad Forum Gallorum : way between *Modena* and *Bo-*
 now called *Castel-Franco*, a *logna*. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1.
 small village on the *Æmilian* c. 28.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA,

A. HIRTIUS.

“ that was coming towards us from the Camp:
 “ and whilst Antony’s men were pursuing me,
 “ and ours by mistake throwing javelins at me,
 “ I was preserved, I know not how, by being
 “ presently known to our soldiers. Cæsar’s
 “ *Prætorian* Cohort sustained the fight a long
 “ time on the *Æmilian* road: but our left wing,
 “ which was the weaker, consisting of two Co-
 “ horts of the *Martial* Legion, and the *Præto-*
 “ *rian* of Hirtius, began to give ground, be-
 “ ing surrounded by Antony’s Horse, in which
 “ he is very strong. When all our ranks had
 “ made good their retreat, I retreated myself
 “ the last to our Camp. Antony, as the Con-
 “ queror, fancied that he could take it; but
 “ upon trial lost many of his men in the at-
 “ tempt, without being able to do us any hurt.
 “ Hirtius in the mean time hearing of the en-
 “ gagement, marched out with twenty veteran
 “ Cohorts, and meeting Antony on his return,
 “ intirely routed and put to flight his whole
 “ army, in the very same place where they had
 “ fought before at *Castel-Franco*. About ten at
 “ night Antony regained his camp at *Mode* a
 “ with all his Horse. Hirtius retired to that
 “ camp which Pansa had quitted in the morn-
 “ ing, and where he left the two Legions, which
 “ Antony attacked. Thus Antony has lost the
 “ greater part of his veteran troops, yet not
 “ without some loss of our *Prætorian* Cohorts
 “ and the *Martial* Legion: we took two of
 “ Antony’s eagles, and sixty standards; and
 “ have gained a considerable advantage [z].”

BESIDES this Letter from *Galba*, there came
 Letters also severally from the *two Consuls* and
Octavius

[z] Ep. fam. x. 30.

Octavius; confirming the other account, with the addition of some farther particulars: *that Pansa fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bologna: that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man: and that to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the Eagle of the fourth Legion, and carried it forward himself: that Cæsar was left to the guard of their Camp: where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss [a].* Antony reproached him afterwards *with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his Horse or General's habit: but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero from Letters, that were read to the Senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage [b].*

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTIUS.

THE news reached *Rome on the twentieth of April*, where it raised an incredible joy; and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to *the Capitol*, whence, on

O 3

their

[a] Cum—ipse in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus e prælio—Phil. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque conflixit. Ib. 10.

Cæsar—adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ibid. vid. App. l. 3. 571.

[b] Priore prælio Antonius eum fugisse scribit, ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Suet. Aug. x.

A. Urb. 710. their return, they placed him in *the Rostra*, to
 Cic. 64. give them an account of the victory; and then
 Coff. conducted him home with infinite acclamations:
 C. VIBIUS so that in a Letter upon it to Brutus, he says,
 PANSA, *that he reaped on that day the full fruit of all his*
 A. HIRTIUS. *toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory*
 [c].

THE day following the Senate was summoned by Cornutus, the Prætor, to deliberate on the Letters of *the Consuls and Octavius*; Servilius's opinion was, "that the City should now
 "quit the *Sagum*, and take the common gown
 "again; and that a public Thanksgiving
 "should be decreed jointly to the honor of the
 "Consuls and Octavius. Cicero spoke next,
 "and declared strongly against quitting the
 "*Sagum*, till D. Brutus was first delivered
 "from the siege: that it would be ridiculous
 "to put it off till they should see him in safety,
 "for whose sake they had put it on — that
 "the motion for quitting it, flowed from envy
 "to D. Brutus; to deprive him of the glory
 "that it would be to his name, to have it delivered
 "to posterity that the people of *Rome*
 "had put on the *Sagum* for the danger, and
 "resumed the gown for the preservation of one
 "Citizen — he advised them therefore to continue
 "in their former mind, of thinking the
 "whole danger and stress of the war to depend
 "on D. Brutus — and tho' there was reason to
 "hope that he was already safe, or would
 "shortly

[c] Cum hesterno die me
 ovariantem ac prope triumphantem
 populus Romanus in Capitolium domo
 tulerit? domum inde reduxerit —
 Phil. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum
 meorum laborum, — fructum cepi
 maximum; si modo est aliquis fructus
 ex solida veraque gloria, &c. Ad
 Brut. 3.

“ shortly be so, yet they should reserve the fruit
 “ of that hope to fact and the event, lest they
 “ should be found too hasty in snatching the
 “ favor of the Gods, or foolish in contemning
 “ the power of fortune [d]. — Then as to the
 “ decree of the Thanksgiving, he urges Servi-
 “ lius with omitting two things in his vote,
 “ which ought necessarily to have accompanied
 “ it; the giving Antony the title of *enemy*,
 “ and their own Generals, of *Emperors* —
 “ the swords of our soldiers are dyed, says he,
 “ or rather moistened onely as yet with blood :
 “ if it was the blood of enemies, it was an act
 “ of the utmost piety; if of Citizens, the most
 “ detestable wickedness : how long then shall
 “ he, who has outdone all enemies in villany,
 “ go without the name of *enemy*? he is now
 “ waging an inexpiable war with four Consuls,
 “ with the Senate and People of *Rome*; de-
 “ nounces plagues, devastation, the rack and
 “ tortures to us all : confesses that Dolabella’s
 “ horrid act, which no Barbarians would own,
 “ was done by his advice : declares what he
 “ would have done to this City, by the cala-
 “ mity of the people of *Parma*; honest and
 “ excellent men, firm to the interests of the
 “ Senate and People; whom L. Antony, the
 “ portent and disgrace of his species, put to
 “ death by all the methods of cruelty [e]. —
 “ That Hannibal was never so barbarous to
 “ any City, as Antony to *Parma*. — He con-
 “ jures them to remember, how much they
 “ had all been terrified for two days past by
 “ villainous reports spread about the City; and
 “ were expecting either a wretched death, or

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS.
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTIUS.

O 4

“ lamentable

[d] Phil. 14. 1, 2.

[e] Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIVS.

“ lamentable flight ; and could they scruple to
“ call those men *enemies*, from whom they fear-
“ ed such dreadful things ? — he then propo-
“ sed to enlarge the number of days of the
“ Thanksgiving, since it was not to be decreed
“ to one, but to three Generals jointly ; to
“ whom in the first place he would give the
“ title of *Emperors* — since there had not been
“ a supplication decreed without it for twenty
“ years past : so that Servilius should not either
“ have decreed it at all, or allowed the usual
“ honor to those, to whom even new and un-
“ usual honors were due [*f*]. That, if accord-
“ ing to the present custom, the Title of *Em-*
“ *peror* was commonly given for killing a *thou-*
“ *sand or two of Spaniards, Gauls, or Thracians* ;
“ how could they refuse it now, when so many
“ Legions were routed, and such a multitude
“ slain ? — for with what honors, says he, and
“ congratulations should our deliverers them-
“ selves be received into this Temple, when
“ yesterday, on the account of what they have
“ done, the people of *Rome* carried me into the
“ Capitol in a kind of Triumph ? for that, af-
“ ter all, is a just and real Triumph, when by
“ the general voice of the City, a public Testi-
“ mony is given to those who have deserved
“ well of the Commonwealth. For if in the
“ common joy of the whole City, they congratu-
“ lated me singly, it is a great declaration of
“ their judgement : if they thanked me, still
“ greater : if both, nothing can be imagined
“ more glorious — that he was forced to say
“ so much of himself against his will, by the
“ strange envy and injuries which he had lately
“ suffered

“ suffered — that the insolence of the Factionous, A. Urb. 710.
 “ as they all knew, had raised a report and sus- Cic. 64.
 “ picion upon him, of his aiming at a *Tyrant*- Coss.
 “ ny; tho’ his whole life had been spent in de- C. VIBIUS
 “ fending the Republic from it: as if he, who Pansa,
 “ had destroyed Catiline, for that very crime, A. HIRTIUS.
 “ was of a sudden become a Catiline himself [g].
 “ That if the report had found credit in the
 “ City, their design was, by a sudden assault
 “ upon his person, as upon a *Tyrant*, to have
 “ taken away his life — that the thing itself
 “ was manifest, and the whole affair should be
 “ laid open in proper time — that he had
 “ said all this, not to purge himself to them,
 “ to whom he should be sorry to want an apo-
 “ logy, but to admonish certain persons, of
 “ jejune and narrow minds, to look upon the
 “ virtue of excellent Citizens, as the object of
 “ their imitation, not of their envy: since the
 “ Republic was a wide field, where the course
 “ of glory was open to many [b]: that if any
 “ man contested with him the first place in the
 “ government, he acted foolishly, if he meant
 “ to do it by opposing vice to virtue: that as
 “ the race was gained by running the fastest, so
 “ virtue was onely to be conquered by a supe-
 “ rior virtue — that they could never get the
 “ better of him by bad votes; by good ones
 “ perhaps they might; and he himself should
 “ be glad of it — that the people of *Rome*
 “ were perpetually inquiring, how men of their
 “ rank voted and acted, and formed their judge-
 “ ment of them accordingly — that they all
 “ remembered, how in *December* last, he was
 “ the author of the first step towards recover-
 “ ing

[g] Ibid. 5.

[b] Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

ing their liberty : how from the first of January he had been continually watching over the safety of the Commonwealth : how his house and his ears were open day and night to the advices and informations of all who came to him : how his opinion always was against an Embassy to Antony : how he had always voted him an *enemy*, and their present state, a war : but as oft as he mentioned an *enemy* or a war, the Consuls had always dropped his motion, from the number of those that were proposed [*i*] : which could not however be done in the present case, because he, who had already voted a Thanksgiving, had unwarily voted Antony an *enemy* : since a Thanksgiving had never been decreed but against enemies ; and never asked or granted in what was properly a civil war — that they should either have denied it, or must of course decree those to be *enemies*, for whose defeat it was granted. — Then after flourishing on the particular merit of the three Generals, Pansa, Hirtius, Octavius ; and shewing how well they had each deserved the name of *Emperor*, he decrees a Thanksgiving of *fifty days* in the name of the three jointly [*k*].” In the last place, he proceeds to speak of the rewards due to the soldiers, and especially of the honors to be paid to those who had lost their lives in the defence of their country. — For these, he proposes a splendid monument to be erected in common to them all, at the public charge, with their names and services inscribed — and in recommending it, breaks out into a kind of *funeral Elogium* upon them —

[*i*] Ibid. 7.[*k*] Ibid. 8, 9, 10, 11.

Oh happy death, says he, which when due
to nature, was paid to your country! for I
cannot but look upon you as born for your
country, whose name is even derived from
Mars: as if the same God, who gave birth
to this City, for the good of nations, had
given birth also to you, for the good of this
City. Death in flight is scandalous; in vi-
ctory glorious; wherefore whilst those im-
pious wretches, whom you slew, will suffer
the punishment of their parricide in the infer-
nal regions; you, who breathed your last in
victory, have obtained the place and seat of
the pious. The life given to us by nature is
short; but the memory of a life well spent,
everlasting: if it were not longer than this
life, who would be so mad, at the expence
of the greatest pains and dangers, to contend
for the prize of glory? your lot therefore is
happy, O you, while you lived, the bravest,
now the holiest of soldiers; for the fame of
your virtue can never be lost, either by the
forgetfulness of those who are now alive, or
the silence of those who shall come hereafter;
since the Senate and People of *Rome* have
raised to you, as it were, with their own
hands an immortal monument. There have
been many great and famous armies in the
Punic, Gallic, Italic wars; yet no such ho-
nor was ever done to any of them. I wish
that we could still do greater, since you have
done the greatest services to us: you drove
Antony, mad with rage, from the City: you
repulsed him, when he attempted to return:
a Fabric therefore shall be erected of magni-
ficent work; and letters engraved upon it,
the eternal witnesses of your divine virtue;
“ nor

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSÆ.

A. HIRTIUS.

“ nor will those who see or hear of your monument, ever cease talking of you: so that instead of this frail and mortal condition of life, you have now acquired an immortality [1].” — He then renews their former assurances to the old Legions, of the full and punctual payment of all, which had been promised to them, as soon as the war should be over; and for those, in the mean time, who had lost their lives for their country, he proposes, that the same rewards which would have been given to them if they had liv’d, should be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, or brothers.” — all which he includes, as usual, *in the form of a decree*, which was ratified by the Senate.

ANTONY, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his Camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to adhere only on the defensive; except by harassing the enemy with his Horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of *Modena*, which was reduced to extremity, and by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it, and after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking thro’ the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigour, that Antony, rather than suffer the town to be snatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his Legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and Antony’s men, tho’ obliged to give ground, brave

ly disputed every inch of it : till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity at the same time to fall upon the Town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into Antony's Camp ; but when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the General's Tent : Pontius Aquila, one of the Conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place : but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the Camp, with the intire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops : while Antony himself, with all his Horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuin account. *The Consul Pansa died the day following of his wounds at Bologna [m].*

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTIUS.

[m] Cum alia laudo, & gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut. 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque perisse & Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. fam. xi. 13. & Appian. l. 3. p. 372.

S E C T.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

S E C T. XI.

THE intire defeat of Antony's army made all people presently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of *Rome* established: which would probably have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the Consuls survived it: but the death of the Consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Republic [a]. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness; intimately intrusted with Cæsar's counsils, and employed to write his acts: but as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribun of the people, he published a law, *to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or Office in the state* [b]: which made him particularly obnoxious to the *Pompeians*, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. *Pansa*, whose Father had been proscribed by *Sylla* [c], was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the

[a] Hirtium quidem & Pansam—In consulatu Reip. salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti Respub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. fam. xi. 9. Quanto sit in periculo Respub. quam potero brevissime

exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consul, &c. ib. x.

[b] Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

[c] Dio. l. 45. 278.

head and reviver of the *Marian* cause; and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity: he was a grave, sincere, and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than *Hirtius*, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed *Pompeians*; many of whom he relieved by his humanity; and restored by his interest to the City and their estates [d]. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that *Cassius*, in defending his *Epicurism* to *Cicero*, alledges *Pansa*, as an example of those genuine *Epicureans*, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts [e]. Before their entrance into the Consulship, *Quintus Cicero* gave a most wretched account of them both; "as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted with the command of a paultry Town, much less of the Empire; and says, that if they were not removed from the helm, the Republic would certainly be lost; since *Antony* would easily draw them into a partnership of his crimes; for when he served with them in *Gaul*, he had seen incredible instances of their effeminacy and debauchery, in the face even of the enemy [f]." — But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of *Quintus*: for whatever

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

[d] *Pansa*, gravis homo & certus—Ep. fam. 6. 12.

ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. ib. 19.

Quod multos miseriis levavit, & quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Ep. fam. 15. 17.

[f] Quos ego penitus novi libidinum & languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. fam. 16. 27.

[e] Itaque & *Pansa*, qui

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

ever they had been before, they were certainly good Consuls; and out of their affection to Cæsar, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging Cæsar's death would throw the Republic again into convulsions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of possessing Cæsar's place; and resolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar they retained indeed some prejudices in favor of that party; and were loth to procede to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame them, but never to distrust them; to complain of their *phlegm and want of vigor*, as detrimental to the common cause: yet while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not in all cases act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgement of them: for they both not onely exposed, but lost their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the Republic; and *shewed themselves to be the very men, which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be*; and though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Panfa, he declares *that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last* [g].

[g] Quales tibi sæpe scripsi Consules, tales extiterunt. [ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu satis vehemens & acer Panfa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in Socerum: cui Consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad

Mutinam gerebatur; nihil in Cæsare reprehenderetur nonnulla in Hirtio—ib. 10. N. B. Several Medals were struck by the Senate on the occasion of this victory; particularly one in honor of Panfa, exhibiting the head of the Goddess Liberty, crown-

IF they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty; and sustain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their Consulship of the next year: all whose armies, together with the *African Legions*, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two Consuls placed Octavius at once above controul, by leaving him the master of both their armies; especially of all the veterans; who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, *that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance*: for he was observed to be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the Camp; where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers; and Pansa's Physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into Prison by Torquatus, Pansa's Quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds [b]. But the chief

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

VOL. III.

P

ground

ed with laurel, and the inscription, Libertatis; and on the reverse, *Rome* sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a Spear in her right hand, and a Dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription. C. Pansa. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

[b] Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansa quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco Medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Suet. Aug. xi. Dio. l. 46. 317. App. p. 572.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

ground of that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interests of Octavius: for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and in the most pressing manner begged of Cicero, *to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villany; and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by Pansa's death* [i].

CICERO was soon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs; and within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehension of it to Brutus: "Young Cæsar, says he, has a wonderful disposition to virtue; I wish that I may govern him as easily, in all this height of honor and power, as I have hitherto done: the thing is now much harder; yet I do not despair of it: for the youth is persuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our present safety to him: and in truth, if he had not at first driven Antony from the City, all had been lost [k]." But as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore Brutus in every Letter, *to bring his army into Italy*, as the onely thing which could save them

[i] Tibi Glycona Medicum Pansæ — diligentissime commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansæ, custodirique ut Parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex custodia. — Ad Brut. 6.

[k] Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Uti-

nam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! est omnino illud difficilior: sed non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, & maxime pueri, ejus opera nos esse saluos: & certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, perisset omnia. Ad Brut. 3.

[l] T
auctorita
cere exe
ceres, id
n opere d
ca. Ad
[m] A
rum de
ti sunt,
tententia
servilius
& ut C

them in their present circumstances: and to enforce his own authority, he procured *a vote also of the Senate*, to call him home with his Legions to the defence of the Republic [l].

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

At Rome however the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their Consuls; and Antony's friends were so dejected for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the Senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceased, Hirtius, Pansa and Aquila; decreed *an ovation to Cæsar*; and added a number of days to their Thanksgiving, in honor of D. Brutus: whose deliverance happening to fall upon *his birth-day*, he decreed likewise, *that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the Fasti or public Kalendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared *enemies*: in which number Servilius himself included Ventidius; and moved, *to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella*; to whom Cicero joined Brutus; *in case that he should find it useful to the Republic* [m].

THE decree of *an Ovation to Octavius* was blamed by Brutus and his friends [n]; yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed: for

P 2

while

[l] Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magno opere desiderabat Respublica. Ad Brut. x.

[m] A. d. v Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati sunt, bello persequendis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Cassius persequeretur

Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrare utile — persequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

[n] Suspicio illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus — non probatur, quod ut Ovanti introire Cæsari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

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Cic. 64.

while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have stript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the City: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.

THE Commanders abroad were so struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had suffered two of his Lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry succours to Antony at *Modena*, labors to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade Cicero, "that they had
" done it against his orders; and tho', for their
" former relation to him, he was unwilling to
" punish them with the last severity, yet he
" had not since employed them, or received
" them even into his Camp. He acquaints
" him, that Antony was arrived in his Province with one Legion, and a great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his Horse,
" which was very strong; and that Ventidius
" had joined him with three Legions: that he
" was marching out against him with all his
" forces; and that many of Antony's Horse
" and Foot daily deserted him. — That for
" himself, he would never be wanting in his
" duty to the Senate and the Republic —
" thanks him for not giving credit to the false
" reports which were spread of him: and above
" all, for the late honors that he had decreed to
" him — begs him to expect every thing
" from him, which could be expected from a

" honest

[2] E
[2] I

"honest man, and to take him under his special protection [o]." A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

POLLIO still more explicitly, "that there was no time now for loitering, or expecting the orders of the Senate — that all who wished to preserve the Empire, and the very name of the *Roman* people, ought to lend their present help. — That nothing was more dangerous, than to give Antony leisure to recollect himself. — That for his part, he would neither desert nor survive the Republic — was grieved onely for his being at such a distance, that he could not come so soon as he wished to its relief, &c. [p]."

PLANCUS sent word, "that he was taking all possible care to oppress Antony, if he came into that country. — That if he came without any considerable body of troops, he should be able to give a good account of him, tho' he should be receiv'd by Lepidus; or if he brought any force with him, would undertake that he should do no harm in those parts, till they could send him succours sufficient to destroy him — that he was then in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their forces in the same cause, by the mediation of Laterensis and Furnius; nor would be hindered by his private quarrel to the man, from concurring with his greatest enemy in the service of the commonwealth [q]." In another Letter he speaks with great contempt of Antony's shattered forces, tho' joined with those of Ventidius, the *Mule-driver*, as he calls him; and is confident, that if he could

P 3

"have

[o] Ep. fam. x. 34.

[q] Ib. xi.

[p] Ibid. 33.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ have met with them, they would not have
“ stood an hour before him [r].”

THE Conquerors at *Modena* were much censured in the mean time for giving Antony leisure to escape: but Octavius from the beginning had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony's power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if Antony had been wholly destroyed, together with the Consuls, the Republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus; who, tho' Master of a good army, was certainly a *weak General* [s]: when he was pressed therefore to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed, in securing to his interests the troops of the Consuls.

CICERO was particularly disgusted at Antony's escape; and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus: he tells him, “ that if Antony
“ should ever recover strength again, all his
“ great services to the Republic would come
“ to nothing — it was reported, says he, at
“ *Rome*, and all people believed it, that he was
“ fled with a few unarmed, dispirited men;
“ and himself almost broken-hearted: but if it
“ be so with him, as I hear it is, that you can-
“ not

[r] Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego & mihi confido, & sic percussas illius copias, Ventidiique

Mulionis castra despicio. Ib. 18.

[s] Cum & Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, & multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

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Cic. 64.

“ not fight him again without danger ; he does
“ not seem to have fled from *Modena*, but to
“ have changed onely the seat of the war.
“ Wherefore men are now quite different from
“ what they were : some even complain that
“ you did not pursue him ; and think that he
“ might have been destroyed, if diligence had
“ been used : such is the temper of people, and
“ above all of ours, to abuse their liberty a-
“ gainst those by whom they obtained it : it is
“ your part however to take care that there be
“ no real ground of complaint. The truth of
“ the case is, he who oppresses Antony, puts
“ an end to the war. What the force of that
“ is, it is better for you to consider, than for
“ me to write more explicitly [1].”

D. BRUTUS, in his answer, gives him the
reasons why he could not follow Antony so soon
as he wished : “ I had no horse, says he ; no
“ carriages ; did not know that Hirtius was
“ killed ; had no confidence in Cæsar, before
“ I met and talked with him ; thus the first
“ day passed. The next morning early I was
“ sent for by Pansa to *Bologna* ; but on the
“ road met with an account of his death : I ran
“ back to my little army ; for so I may truly
“ call it : it is extremely reduced, and in sad
“ condition for want of all things : so that An-
“ tony gained two days of me, and made much
“ greater journeys in flying, than I could in
“ pursuing ; for his troops went straggling ;
“ mine in order. Where-ever he passed, he
“ opened all the prisons, carried away the men,
“ and stopt no where till he came to the Fords.
“ This place lies between the *Apennine* and the

P 4

“ *Alps* ;

[1] Ep. fam. xi. 12.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

“ *Alps*; a most difficult country to march thro’:
 “ when I was thirty miles from him, and Ven-
 “ tidius had already joined him, a copy of his
 “ speech was brought to me, in which he begs
 “ of his soldiers to follow him cross the *Alps*;
 “ and declares, that he acted in concert with
 “ Lepidus: but the soldiers cried out, especi-
 “ ally those of Ventidius, for he has very few
 “ of his own, that they would either conquer
 “ or perish in *Italy*; and began to beg, that
 “ he would go to *Pollentia*: when he could not
 “ over-rule them, he put off his march to the
 “ next day. Upon this intelligence, I presently
 “ sent five Cohorts before me to *Pollentia*, and
 “ followed them myself with the army: my
 “ detachment came to the place an hour before
 “ Trebellius, with Antony’s Horse: this gave
 “ me an exceeding joy; for I esteem it equal
 “ to a victory, &c. [u].”

In another Letter he says, “ that if Cæsar
 “ would have been persuaded by him to cross
 “ the *Apennine*, he could have reduced Antony
 “ to such straits, that he must have been de-
 “ stroyed by want rather than the sword: but
 “ that they could neither command Cæsar, nor
 “ Cæsar his own troops; both which circum-
 “ stances were very bad, &c. [x].” This au-
 “ thentic account from D. Brutus confutes two
 “ facts, which are delivered by an old Historian,
 “ and generally received by all the moderns; first,
 “ that Octavius, *after the victory, refused to have*

[u] Ibid. 13.

[x] Quod si me Cæsar
 audisset, atque Apeninum
 transisset, in tantas angustias
 Antonium compulisset, ut

inopia potius quam ferro con-
 ficeretur. Sed neque Cæsar
 imperari potest, nec Cæsar
 exercitui suo: quod utrumque
 pessimum est.—ib. x.

any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, A. Urb. 710.
for that reason, forbade him to enter his Province, Cic. 64.

or to pursue Antony: secondly, that Panfa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with Antony against the Senate [y]. For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amiable a manner, as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Panfa's death happened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech which is made for him to Octavius: especially since it appears on the contrary, that instead of Octavius, Panfa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to save Octavius's honor, and give a better color to that sudden change of measures, which from this hour he was determined to pursue [z].

C. AN-

[y] Vid. Appian. l. 3. 573. it. Hist. Rom. par. 17. l. 4. 433, &c.

[z] There is an original medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck probably at Rome, either by Panfa himself, upon his marching out towards Modena, or by the Senate upon after Panfa's death, in testimony of the strict union, that subsisted between him

and D. Brutus Albinus. For on the one side, there is the Head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of *Pan*, which is frequent on Panfa's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. Panfa: and on the other, Albinus. Bruti. F. with two right hands joined, holding a *Capiteus*, as an emblem of the strictest amity and concord.— See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant or Morel.—

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

C. ANTONY was still a prisoner with M. Brutus, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the Camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The soldiers however soon repented of their rashness, and killed the authors of it; and *would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have delivered him into their hands*: but he could not be induced to take his life, tho' this was the second offence of the same kind; but pretending, *that he would order him to be thrown into the Sea, sent him to be secured on ship-board, either from doing or suffering any farther mischief* [a]: of which he wrote an account to Cicero, who returned the following answer.

“ As to the sedition in the fourth Legion
“ about C. Antony, you will take what I say
“ in good part; I am better pleased with the
“ severity of the soldiers than with yours. I am
“ extremely glad that you have had a trial of
“ the affection of your Legions and the Honor
“ — as to what you write, that I am pained
“ suing the Antony's much at my ease, and
“ praise me for it; I suppose you really think
“ so: but I do not by any means approve your
“ distinction, when you say, that our animosity
“ sity ought to be exerted rather in preventing
“ civil wars, than in revenging ourselves on
“ the vanquished. I differ widely from you
“ Brutus, not that I yield to you in clemency
“ but a salutary severity is always preferable to
“ a specious shew of mercy. If we are so forward
“ of pardoning, there will be no end of civil
“ wars: but you are to look to that: for I can

[a] Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

[b] Ad
[c] Ap
47. 356

say of myself, what Plautus's old man says A. Urb. 710.
in the *Trinummus*; *life is almost over with* Cic. 64.
me; it is you who are the most interested in it.

You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if
you do not take care: for you will not always
have the people, nor the Senate, nor a Lea-
der of the Senate, the same as now. Take
this, as from *the Pythian Oracle*; nothing
can be more true [b]."

BRUTUS's wife, Porcia, notwithstanding the
tragical story which the old writers have dres-
sed up, of the manner of her killing herself up-
on the news of her husband's unhappy fate [c],
died most probably about this time at Rome, of
lingering illness. She seems to have been in a
bad state of health when Brutus left *Italy*, where
she is said to have parted from him with the
utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious
that she was taking her last leave of him: and
Plutarch says, *that there was a Letter of Brutus*
extant in his days, if it was genuin, in which he
lamented her death, and complained of his friends
for neglecting her in her last sickness: this how-
ever is certain, that in a Letter to Atticus, he
gives a hint of *Porcia's indisposition, with a slight*
compliment to Atticus for his care of her [d]: and
the following Letter of condolence to him from
Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other oc-
casion but that of her death.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"I should perform the same office which you
formerly did in my loss, of comforting you
" by

[b] Ad Brut. 2.

[d] Valetudinem Porciæ

[c] App. l. iv. 669. Dio. meæ tibi curæ esse, non mi-

47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6. ror. Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

“ by Letter, did I not know that you cannot
 “ want those remedies in your grief, with which
 “ you relieved mine. I wish onely that you
 “ may now cure yourself more easily than at
 “ that time you cured me: for it would be
 “ strange in so great a man as you, not to be
 “ able to practise what he had prescribed to
 “ another. As for me, not onely the reasons
 “ which you then collected, but your very au-
 “ thority deterred me from indulging my sor-
 “ row to excess. For when you thought me
 “ to behave myself with greater softness than
 “ became a man, especially one who used to
 “ comfort others, you chid me with more se-
 “ verity than it was usual for you to express
 “ so that, out of a reverence to your judge-
 “ ment, I roused myself; and by the accession
 “ of your authority, took every thing that
 “ had learnt or read, or heard on that subject
 “ to have the greater weight. Yet my part
 “ Brutus, at that time was onely to act agree-
 “ ably to duty and to nature: but yours, as
 “ we say, is to be acted *on the stage*, and be-
 “ fore the people. For when the eyes, not on-
 “ ly of your army, but of all the City, nay, of
 “ all the world, are upon you, it is wholly in-
 “ decent for one, by whom we other mortals
 “ are made the stouter, to betray any dejection
 “ or want of courage. You have suffered in-
 “ deed a great loss; (for you have lost that
 “ which has not left its fellow on earth) and
 “ must be allowed to grieve under so cruel a
 “ blow; lest to want all sense of grief should
 “ be thought more wretched than grief itself
 “ but to do it with moderation, is both useful
 “ to others, and necessary to yourself. I would
 “ write more, if this was not already too much

“ W

we expect you and your army : without A. Urb. 710.
which, tho' all other things succede to our Cic. 64.
wishes, we shall hardly ever be free [e]."

As the time of chusing Magistrates now
drew on, and particularly of filling up *the Col-
leges of Priests*, in which there were many va-
cancies ; so Brutus was sending home many of
his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at
the election ; the two Bibulus's, Domitius, Cato,
Lentulus ; whom he severally recommends to
Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous *that*
his son also should come with them, to be elected a
Priest ; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind
about it ; and if he thought proper, to send
him away immediately ; for tho' he might be
chosen in absence, yet his success would be much
easier if he was present [f]. He touches this
little affair in several of his Letters ; but finding
the public disorders increase still every day,
he procured *the election of Priests to be thrown*
off to the next year : and Brutus having sent him
word in the mean while, *that his son had actu-*
ally left him, and was coming towards Rome, he
instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him
on the road, with orders to send him back a-
gain, tho' he found him landed in *Italy* : since
nothing, he says, could be more agreeable either
to himself, or more honorable to his son, than his
continuance with Brutus [g].

NOT

[e] Ibid. 9.

[f] Sed quamvis liceat
volentis rationem haberi, ta-
men omnia sunt præsentibus
faciliora—ad Brut. 5.

[g] Ego autem, cum ad
me de Ciceronis abs te dis-
cessu scripisses, statim ex-
trusi tabellarios, litterasque

ad Ciceronem ; ut etiam si in
Italiam venisset, ad te redi-
ret. Nihil enim mihi jucun-
dus, illi honestius. Quam-
quam aliquoties ei scripseram,
sacerdotum comitia, mea
summa contentione in alte-
rum annum esse rejecta, &c.
Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

NOT long after the battel of *Modena*, the news of *Dolabella's* defeat, and death from *Afranius* brought a fresh occasion of joy to *Cicero*, and his friends at *Rome*. *Dolabella*, after his success against *Trebonius*, having pillaged the Province of it's money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation: but *Cassius* was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that Country, and of all the armies in it was much superior to him in force. *Dolabella* however made his way with some success through *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to *Laodicea*; which had before been invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here *Cassius* came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed *Dolabella's* fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till *Dolabella*, seeing no way to escape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer, killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into *Cassius's* hands, and suffering the same treatment which he had shewn to *Trebonius*: but *Cassius* generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant *Octavius*, who killed himself also with him [b].

D. BRUTUS was now at last pursuing *Antony*, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, the new Legions of the late Consuls, while all the Veterans put themselves under the command

Octavius

[b] Ep. fam. 12, 13, 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio. l. 47. 34

Octavius: so that after Antony was joined by A. Urb. 710.
Ventidius with three Legions, Brutus was hard- Cic. 64.
ly strong enough either to fight with him, or,
what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing
the Alps to Lepidus. He desired Cicero there-
fore, to write to Lepidus, not to receive him,
though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would
never do any thing that was right; and wishes
likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus;
since by some of Antony's papers, which fell in-
to his hands, he perceived, that Antony had not
lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of
Lepidus and Pollio. Of which he gave Plancus
immediate notice, and signified, that he was
coming forward with all expedition to join with
him [i]. But he complains much in all his Let-
ters, of his want of money, and the sad condi-
tion of his army; which was not contemptible
for the number, but the kind of his troops; be-
ing for the most part, *new raised men, bare and
needy of all things* [k]. "I cannot, says he,
maintain my soldiers any longer. When I
first undertook to free the Republic, I had
above *three hundred thousand pounds* of my
own in money: but am now so far from ha-
ving any thing, that I have involved all my
friends in debt for me. I have seven Legi-
ons to provide for: consider with what diffi-
culty:

[i] In primis rogo te, ad
omnem ventosissimum Le-
pidum mittas, ne bellum no-
bis redintegrare possit, An-
tonio sibi conjuncto.—Mihi
persuasissimum est, Lepidum
recte facturum nunquam—
Plancum quoque confirme-
re, oro; quem spero, pulso

Antonio, Reipub. non defu-
turum.—Ep. fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum pro-
ficiscitur, ne de Planco qui-
dem spem adhuc abjecit, ut
ex libellis suis animadverti,
qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

[k] Cum sim cum tironi-
bus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“culty: had I the treasures of Varro, I could
“not support the expence [1].” He desired
therefore a present supply of money, and some
Veteran Legions, especially *the fourth and Mar-*
tial, which continued still with Octavius. This
was decreed to him readily by the Senate, at
the motion of *Drusus and Paullus*, *Lepidus’s brother* [m]: but Cicero wrote him word, “that
“all, who knew those Legions the best, affirm-
“ed, that they would not be induced by any
“terms to serve under him: that money how-
“ever should certainly be provided for him”—
and concludes by observing, “that if *Lepidus*
“should receive Antony, it would throw them
“again into great difficulties: but that it was
“Brutus’s part, to take care, that they should
“have no cause to fear the event: for as to
“himself, that he could not possibly do more
“than he had already done: but wished to see
“D. Brutus the greatest and most illustrious of
“men [n].”

PLANCUS, as it is hinted above, was carry-
ing on a negotiation with Lepidus, to unite
their forces against Antony: it was managed on
Plancus’s side by Furnius; on Lepidus’s, by
Laterensis

[1] Alere jam milites non
possum. Cum ad Rempub.
liberandam accessi, H S. mihi
fuit pecuniæ cccc amplius.
Tantum abest ut meæ rei fa-
miliaris liberum sit quidquam,
ut omnes jam meos amicos
ære alieno obstrinxerim. Sep-
tenum numerum nunc legi-
onum alo, qua difficultate,
tu arbitrare. Non, si Var-
ronis thesauros haberem, sub-
sistere sumptui possem. Ib. 10.

[m] Ep. fam. xi. 19.
[n] Legionem Martiam
quartam negant, qui illas no-
runt, ulla conditione ad
posse perducì. Pecuniæ
quam desideras, ratio pote
haberi, eaque habebitur—eg-
plus quam feci, facere non
possum. Te tamen, id quod
spero, omnium maximum
clarissimum videre cupio. Ib.
14.

Laterensis, one of his Lieutenants; a true friend to the Republic, and zealous to engage his General to it's interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity; so that Plancus was marching forward in great hast to join with him; of which he gave Cicero a particular account.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

"AFTER I had written my Letters, I
"thought it of service to the public, that you
"should be informed of what has since happen-
"ed. My diligence, I hope, has been of use
"both to myself and to the Commonwealth:
"for I have been treating with Lepidus by per-
"petual messages; that laying aside all former
"quarrels, he would be reconciled, and suc-
"cour the Republic in common with me, and
"shew more regard to himself, his children,
"and the City, than to a desperate abandoned
"Robber; in which case, he might depend on
"my service and assistance for all occasions: I
"transacted the affair by Laterensis. He pawn-
"ed his faith, that if he could not keep Anto-
"ny out of his Province, he would pursue him
"by open war; begged, that I would come
"and join forces with him, and so much the
"more, because Antony was said to be strong
"in Horse; whereas Lepidus's could hardly be
"called indifferent: for not many days before,
"even out of his small number, ten, who were
"reckoned his best, came over to me. As
"soon as I was informed of this, I resolved
"without delay, to support Lepidus in the ex-
"ecution of his good intentions: I saw, of
"what benefit my joining him would be, either
"for pursuing and destroying Antony's Horse
"with

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ with mine, or for correcting and restraining,
 “ by the presence of my army, the corrupt and
 “ disaffected part of Lepidus’s. Having made
 “ a bridge therefore in one day over the *Iser*,
 “ a very great river in the territory of the *Allo-*
 “ *broges*, I passed with my army on the twelfth
 “ of *May*: but having been informed that
 “ L. Antony was sent before with some Horse
 “ and Cohorts to *Forum Julii*, I had sent my
 “ brother the day before with four thousand
 “ Horse to meet with him, intending to follow
 “ myself by great journeys with four Legions,
 “ and the rest of my Horse, without the hea-
 “ vy baggage. If we have any tolerable for-
 “ tune for the Republic, we shall here put an
 “ end to the audaciousness of the desperate;
 “ and to all our own trouble: but if the Rob-
 “ ber, upon hearing of my arrival, should run
 “ back again into *Italy*, it will be Brutus’s part
 “ to meet with him there: who will not be
 “ wanting, I know, either in counsel or cou-
 “ rage: but if that should happen, I will send
 “ my brother also with the Horse, to follow
 “ and preserve *Italy* from being ravaged by
 “ him. Take care of your health, and love me
 “ as I love you [o].” —

BUT Lepidus was acting all the while a trea-
 cherous part, being determined at all hazards
 to support Antony; and tho’ he kept him at a
 distance for some time, and seemed to be con-
 strained at last by his own soldiers to receive
 him; yet that was onely to save appearances,
 till he could do it with advantage and security
 to them both: his view in treating with Plan-
 cus was probably, to amuse and draw him

near to them, that when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point therefore of joining Camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus, suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haste, *that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted*; “exhorting Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be drawn into a snare, and to perform his duty to the Republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him this warning, &c. [p].”

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

PLANCUS gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions: he acquaints him, that Lepidus and Antony joined their camps on the twenty-eighth of *May*, and the same day marched forward towards him: of all which he knew nothing, till they were come within twenty miles of him: that upon the first intelligence of it, he retreated in all haste; repassed the *Isere*, and broke down the bridges which he had built upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all his forces together, and join them with his Colleague D. Brutus, whom he expected in three days — that

Q 2

Laterensis,

At Laterensis, vir san- se destitutum: in quibus a-
nus, suo chirographo perte denuntiat, videam ne
mihi litteras, in eis que fallar: suam fidem solutam
perans de se, de exercitu, esse, Reipub. ne desim.—Ib.
Lepidi fide, querensque 21.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ Laterensis, whose singular fidelity he should
“ ever acknowledge, when he found himself
“ duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands upon
“ himself; but being interrupted in the act,
“ was thought likely to live — he desires that
“ Octavius might be sent to him with his for-
“ ces; or if he could not come in person, that
“ his army however might be sent, since his
“ interest was so much concerned in it — that
“ as the whole body of the Rebels was now
“ drawn into one Camp, they ought to act a-
“ gainst them with the whole force of the Re-
“ public, &c. [q].”

THE day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short Letter to the Senate, where in “ he calls the Gods and men to witness, that
“ he had nothing so much at heart as the pub-
“ lic safety and liberty; of which he should
“ shortly have given them proofs, had not for-
“ tune prevented him: for that his soldiers, by
“ a general mutiny and sedition, had plainly
“ forced him to take so great a multitude of
“ Citizens under his protection. He beseeched
“ them, that laying aside all their private
“ grudges, they would consult the good of the
“ whole Republic; nor in a time of civil dis-
“ sension treat his clemency, and that of his
“ army, as criminal and traiterous [r].”

D. BRUTUS on the other hand joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord, and the affection of the whole Province on their side: which being signified in their common Letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest men there. In a Letter of Plancus to Cicero, “ y

“ know

[q] Ep. fam. x. 23;

[r] Ibid. 35.

“ know, says he, I imagine, the state of our A. Urb. 710.
 “ forces: in my Camp there are three veteran Cic. 64.
 “ Legions, with one new, but the best of all
 “ others of that sort: in Brutus’s, one veteran
 “ Legion, another of two years standing, eight
 “ of new levies: so that our whole army is
 “ great in number, little in strength: for what
 “ small dependence there is on a fresh soldier,
 “ we have oft experienced to our cost. If the
 “ *African* troops, which are veteran, or Cæsar’s
 “ should join us, we should willingly put all
 “ to the hazard of a battel: as I saw Cæsar’s
 “ to be the nearest, so I have never ceased to
 “ press him, nor he to assure me that he would
 “ come instantly, tho’ I perceive that he had
 “ no such thought, and is quite gone off into
 “ other measures: yet I have sent our friend
 “ Furnius again to him, with Letters and in-
 “ structions, if he can possibly do any good
 “ with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that
 “ as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs to
 “ me in common with you: for on the account
 “ either of my intimacy with his uncle when
 “ alive, it was necessary for me to protect and
 “ cherish him; or because he himself, as far as
 “ I have been able to observe, is of a most
 “ moderate and gentle disposition; or that af-
 “ ter so remarkable a friendship with C. Cæsar,
 “ it would be a shame for me not to love him,
 “ even as my own child, whom he had adopted
 “ for his son. But what I now write, I write
 “ out of grief, rather than ill-will: that An-
 “ tony now lives; that Lepidus is joined with
 “ him; that they have no contemptible army;
 “ that they have hopes, and dare pursue them;
 “ is all intirely owing to Cæsar. I will not re-
 “ call what is long since passed: but if he had

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ come at the time, when he himself declared
 “ that he would, the war would have been ei-
 “ ther now ended, or removed, to their great
 “ disadvantage, into *Spain*, a Province utterly
 “ averse to them. What motive, or whose coun-
 “ sels drew him off from a part so glorious,
 “ nay, so necessary too, and salutary to him-
 “ self, and turned him so absurdly to the
 “ thoughts of a *two months Consulship*, to the
 “ terror of all people, I cannot possibly com-
 “ prehend. His friends seem capable of doing
 “ much good on this occasion, both to himself
 “ and the Republic; and above all others, you;
 “ to whom he has greater obligations than any
 “ man living, except myself; for I shall never
 “ forget that I am indebted to you for the
 “ greatest. I have given orders to Furnius to
 “ treat with him on these affairs; and if I had
 “ as much authority with him as I ought
 “ should do him great service. We in the mean
 “ time have a very hard part to sustain in the
 “ war: for we neither think it safe to venture
 “ a battle, nor yet by turning our backs, to
 “ give the enemy an opportunity of doing
 “ greater mischief to the Republic: but if ei-
 “ ther Cæsar would regard his honor, or the
 “ *African* Legions come quickly, we shall make
 “ you all easy from this quarter. I beg you to
 “ continue your affection to me, and assure
 “ yourself that I am strictly yours [s].”

UPON the news of *Lepidus's union with An-
 tony*, the Senate, after some little time spent
 considering the effects of it, being encouraged
 by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and
 depending on the fidelity of their united forces

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voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June; A. Urb. 710.
and demolished the gilt statue, which they had late- Cic. 64.
ly erected to him; reserving still a liberty to him
and his adherents of returning to their duty by the
first of September [t]. Lepidus's wife was
M. Brutus's sister; by whom he had sons, whose
fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote,
which confiscated the Father's estate: for which
reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's
wife, their aunt, solicited Cicero very earnestly,
either that the decree itself might not pass, or that
the children should be excepted out of it: but Ci-
cero could not consent to oblige them: for since
the first was thought necessary, the second fol-
lowed of course: he gave Brutus however a par-
ticular account of the case by Letter.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"THOUGH I was just going to write to you
" by Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our
" friend Vetus come without a Letter. The
" Republic, Brutus, is now in the utmost dan-
" ger, and after we had conquered, we are
" forced again to fight, by the perfidy and mad-
" nefs of M. Lepidus. On which occasion,
" when for the care, with which I have charged
" myself, of the Republic, I had many things
" to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me
" more, than that I could not yield to the
" prayers of your mother and sister; for I ima-
" gined, that I should easily satisfy you, on
" which

Q 4

[t] Lepidus tuus affinis,
meus familiaris prid. Kal.
Quint. sententiis omnibus
hostis a Senatu judicatus est;
ceterique qui una cum illo a

Repub. defecerunt: quibus
tamen ad sanitatem redeundi
ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta
est. Ep. fam. 12. 10.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ which I lay the greatest stress. For Lepi-
 “ dus’s case could not by any means be distin-
 “ guished from Antony’s; nay, in all people’s
 “ judgement, was even worse; since after he
 “ had received the highest honors from the Se-
 “ nate, and but a few days before had sent an
 “ excellent Letter to them; on a sudden, he
 “ not onely received the broken remains of our
 “ enemies, but now wages a most cruel war a-
 “ gainst us by land and sea; the event of which
 “ is wholly uncertain. When we are desired
 “ therefore to extend mercy to his children, not
 “ a word is said, why, if their Father should
 “ conquer, (which the Gods forbid) we are not
 “ to expect the last punishment from him.
 “ I am not ignorant, how hard it is, that
 “ Children should suffer for the crimes of their
 “ Parents: but it was wisely contrived by the
 “ laws, that the love of their Children should
 “ make parents more affectionate to their Coun-
 “ try. Wherefore it is Lepidus, who is cruel
 “ to his children, not he, who adjudges Lepi-
 “ dus an enemy: for if, laying down his arms,
 “ he were to be condemned onely of violence,
 “ in which no defence could be made for him,
 “ his children would suffer the same calamity
 “ by the confiscation of his estate. Yet what
 “ your mother and sister are now soliciting a-
 “ gainst, in favor of the children, the very
 “ same and much worse, Lepidus, Antony,
 “ and our other enemies are at this very mo-
 “ ment threatening to us all. Wherefore our
 “ greatest hope is in you and your army: it is
 “ of the utmost consequence both to the Re-
 “ public in general, and to your honor and
 “ glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you
 “ before, you come as soon as possible into

“ Italy:

" *Italy*: for the Republic is in great want not
 " only of your forces, but of your counsils. I
 " served Vetus with pleasure, as you desired
 " me, for his singular benevolence and duty to
 " you: I found him extremely zealous and af-
 " fectionate both to you and the Republic: I
 " shall see my Son, I hope, very soon; for I
 " depend on his coming with you quickly to
 " *Italy* [*u*]."

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.

BRUTUS, before he had received this Letter,
 having heard from other friends, what they
 were designing at *Rome* against Lepidus, wrote
 about the same time, and on the same subject to
 Cicero.

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

" OTHER people's fears oblige me to enter-
 " tain some apprehensions myself on Lepidus's
 " account: if he should withdraw himself from
 " us, (which will prove, I hope, a rash and
 " injurious suspicion of him) I beg and beseech
 " you, Cicero, conjuring you by our friend-
 " ship and your affection to me, to forget, that
 " my Sister's children are Lepidus's sons, and
 " to consider me in the place of their Father.
 " If I obtain this of you, you will not scruple,
 " I am sure, to do whatever you can for them.
 " Other people live differently with their
 " friends: but I can never do enough for my
 " Sister's children, to satisfy either my inclina-
 " tion or my duty. But what is there, in which
 " honest men can oblige me, (if in reality I
 " have deserved to be obliged in any thing)
 " or in which I can be of service to my mother,
 " sister, and the boys; if their uncle Brutus
 " has

[*u*] Ad Brut. 12.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ has not as much weight with you and the Senate, to protect, as their Father Lepidus, to hurt them? I feel so much uneasiness and indignation, that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully to you: for if, in a case so important and so necessary, there could be any occasion for words, to excite and confirm you, there is no hope that you will do what I wish, and what is proper. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me: confidently what I am: and that I ought to obtain it; either from Cicero, a man the most intimately united with me; or without regard to our private friendship, from a consular Senator of such eminence: pray send me word, as soon as you can, what you resolve to do. *July by the first* [x].”

CICERO perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a strength Brutus laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them till the times were more settled [y].

LEPIDUS and Antony were no sooner joined than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius; who, from the death of the Consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the Senate; and wanted only a pretence for breaking with them. He waited however awhile, to see what became of Antony; till finding him received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme to enter into the league with them; and to con-

[x] Ibid. 13.

[y] Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te

ex matris & ex sororis litteris cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. 18.

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jam suis n

cur, in what seemed to be more peculiarly his A. Urb. 710.
own part, the design of revenging the death of Cic. 64.
his Uncle. Instead therefore of prosecuting the
war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends,
to make a demand of the Consulship, though he
was not yet above *twenty years old*. This step
shocked and terrified the City; not that the Con-
sulship could give him any power, which his ar-
my had not already given; but as it indicated
a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, ground-
ed on a contempt of the laws and the Senate;
and above all, raised a just apprehension of some
attempt against the public liberty: since, in-
stead of leading his army, where it was wanted
and desired, against their enemies abroad, he
chose to march with it towards *Rome*, as if he
intended to subdue the Republic itself.

THERE was a report spread in the mean
while through the Empire, that Cicero *was*
chosen Consul: Brutus mentioning it in a Letter
to him, says, *if I should ever see that day, I*
shall then begin to figure to myself the true form
of a Republic, subsisting by its own strength [z].
It is certain, that he might have been declared
Consul, by the unanimous suffrage of the people,
if he had desired it; but in times of such vio-
lence, the title of supreme Magistrate without a
real power to support it, would have exposed
him onely to more immediate danger and in-
sults from the foldiers; *whose fastidious insolence*
in their demands, was grown, as he complains,
insupportable [a]. Some old writers say, what
the

[z] His litteris scriptis, te isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.
Consulem factum audivimus; [a] Illudimur, Brute, cum
tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam & militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 19.
jam suis nitentem viribus, si

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favor his pretensions to the Consulship, by the hopes of being made his Collegue, and governing him in the office [b]. But the contrary is evident from several of his Letters; and that of all men, he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus; "as to
" Cæsar, says he, who has been governed hither-
" to by my advice, and is indeed of an excel-
" lent disposition, and wonderfull firmness, some
" people, by most wicked Letters, messages,
" and fallacious accounts of things, have push-
" ed him to an assured hope of the Consul-
" ship: as soon as I perceived it, I never cea-
" sed admonishing him in absence, nor re-
" proaching his friends, who are present, and
" who seem to encourage his ambition: nor did
" I scruple to lay open the source of those trai-
" terous counsils in the Senate: nor do I ever
" remember the Senate or the Magistrates to
" have behaved better on any occasion: for it
" never happened before, in voting an extraor-
" dinary honor to a powerfull, or rather most
" powerfull man, (since power is now measu-
" red by force and arms) that no Tribun, or
" any other Magistrate, nor so much as a pri-
" vate Senator would move for it: yet in the
" midst of all this firmness and virtue, the City
" is greatly alarmed: for we are abused, Bru-
" tus, both by the licentiousness of the soldiers,
" and the insolence of the General. Every one
" demands, to have as much power in the state,
" as he has means to extort it: no reason, no

" mode-

[b] Plutar, in Cic.

“moderation, no Law, no custom, no duty is
“at all regarded; no judgement or opinion of
“the Citizens; no shame of posterity; &c.
“[c].”

WHAT Cicero says in this Letter, is very remarkable, *that in all this height of young Cæsar's power, there was not a Magistrate, nor so much as a single Senator, who would move for the decree of his Consulship*: the demand of it therefore was made by a deputation of his officers; and when the Senate received it more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, a Centurion, throwing back his robe and shewing them his sword, boldly declared, *that if they would not make him Consul, that should*. But Octavius himself soon put an end to their scruples, *by marching with his Legions in an hostile manner to the City [d]*; where he was chosen Consul with Q. Pedius, his Kinsman, and coheir in part of his Uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called afterwards from his own surname, *Augustus [e]*.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
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THE first act of his Magistracy was, to secure all the public money, which he found in Rome, and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He complained loudly of the Senate, “that
“instead

[c] Ad Brut. 10.

[d] Consulatum vigesimo
etatis anno invasit, admotis
hostiliter ad urbem legioni-
bus, missisque, qui sibi exer-
citus nomine deposcerent.
Cum quidem cunctante Se-
natu, Cornelius Centurio,
princeps legationis, rejecto
sagulo, ostendens gladii ca-

pulum, non dubitasset in cu-
ria dicere; hic faciet, si vos
non feceritis. Sueton. Aug.
c. 26.

[e] Sextilem mensem e suo
cognomine nominavit, magis
quam Septembrem, in quo
erat natus, quia hoc sibi &
primus Consulatus, &c. Su-
et. Aug. 31.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

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NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

“ instead of paying his army the rewards, which
 “ they had decreed to them, they were contri-
 “ ving to harrafs them with perpetual toils, and
 “ to engage them in fresh wars against Lepidus
 “ and Antony: and likewise, that in the com-
 “ mission granted to ten Senators, to provide
 “ lands for the Legions after the war, they
 “ had not named him [f].” But there was no
 just ground for any such complaints; for those
 rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be di-
 stributed, till the war was quite ended; and the
 leaving Cæsar out of the commission, was not
 from any particular slight, but a general excep-
 tion of all, *who had the command of armies*, as
 improper to be employed in such a charge;
 though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion,
and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus
 and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar;
 and both of them seem likewise to have been dis-
 gusted at it; so that CICERO, who was one of
 the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence
 of a step, which gave such offence, *would not*
suffer his Collegues to do any thing of moment, but
reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Cæsar
and the rest [g].

BUT Cæsar, being now wholly bent on chang-
 ing sides and measures, was glad to catch at eve-
 ry occasion of quarrelling with the Senate: he
 charged them, *with calling him a boy, and treat-*
ing

[f] Appian. 3. 581.

[g] Cum ego sensissem,
 de iis qui exercitus haberent,
 sententiam ferri oportere,
 iidem illi, qui solent, recla-
 marunt. Itaque excepti eti-
 am estis, me vehementer re-

pugnante — itaque cum qui-
 dam de Collegis nostris agra-
 riam curationem ligurirent,
 disturbavi rem, totamque in-
 tegram vobis reservavi. Ep-
 fam. xi. 21. it. 20, 23.

[b] D
 Aug.
 [i] La
 tem,

ing him as such [b]; and found a pretext also a- A. Urb. 710.
gainst Cicero himself, whom, after all the ser- Cic. 64.
vices received from him, his present views o- C. CÆSAR
bliged him to abandon: for some busy informers OCTAVIA-
had told him, that Cicero had spoken of him in NUS.
certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double Q. PEDIUS.
meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off
—which Octavius was desirous to have re-
ported every where, and believed in the worst
sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of
it in the following Letter.

D. BRUTUS, Emperor, Consul Elect to M.
T. CICERO.

“ What I do not feel on my own account,
“ my love and obligations to you make me feel
“ on yours; that is, fear. For after I had
“ been often told, what I did not wholly slight,
“ Labeo Segulius, a man always like himself,
“ just now informs me, that he has been with
“ Cæsar, where there was much discourse on
“ you: that Cæsar himself had no other com-
“ plaint against you, but for a certain saying,
“ which he declared to have been spoken by
“ you; that the young man was to be praised,
“ adorned, taken off [i]; but he would not be
“ so silly, he said, as to put it into any man’s
“ power, to take him off. This, I dare say,
“ was first carried to him, or forged by Segu-
“ lius himself, and did not come from the young
“ man. Segulius had a mind likewise to per-
“ suade me, that the Veterans talk most angri-
“ ly

[b] Dio. l. 46. 318. Su-
Aug. 12.

[i] Laudandum, adoles-
centem, ornandum, tollen-

dum. Which last word sig-
nifies, either to raise to ho-
nors, or take away life.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

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NUS.

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ly against you; and that you are in danger
 from them; and that the chief cause of their
 anger is, because neither Cæsar nor I am in
 the commission of the ten, but all things
 transacted by your will and pleasure: upon
 hearing this, though I was then upon my
 march, I did not think it proper to pass the
Alps, till I could first learn, how matters
 were going amongst you, &c. [k].”

To this CICERO answered.

“THE Gods confound that Segulius, the
 greatest knave, that is, or was, or ever will
 be. What, do you imagine, that he told
 his story onely to you, and to Cæsar? he told
 the same to every soul, that he could speak
 with: I love you, however, my Brutus, as
 I ought, for acquainting me with it, how
 trifling soever it be: ’tis a sure sign of your
 affection. For as to what Segulius says, of
 the complaint of the Veterans, because you
 and Cæsar were not in the commission:
 wish, that I was not in it myself; for what
 can be more troublesom? but when I proposed,
 that those, who had the command of armies,
 should be included in it; the same men,
 who used to oppose every thing, remonstrated
 against it; so that you were excepted,
 wholly against my vote and opinion &c. [l].”

As for the story of *the words*, he treats it
 we see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology,
 or the pains of disclaiming it: and it seems
 indeed incredible, that a man of his prudence
 could ever say them. If he had harboured such
 a thought, or had been tempted on any occasion

[k] Ep. fam. xi. 20.

[l] Ibid. 21.

to throw out such a hint, we might have expected to find it in his Letters to Brutus; yet on the contrary, he speaks always of Octavius, in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common, than to have *sayings* forged for *his*, which he had never spoken; and this was one of that sort; contrived to instill a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him a handle at least for breaking with Cicero, which, in his present circumstances he was glad to lay hold of: and when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius; though not without an intimation from the latter of it's suspected credit [*m*].

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
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NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

WHILE the city was in the utmost consternation on Cæsar's approach with his army, *two* Veteran Legions from Afric happened to arrive on the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven: but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted to the Senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar. Pollio likewise, about the same time, with *two* of his best Legions from Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus: so that all the Veterans of the western part of the Empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him also at last, to desert his Colleague D.

R

Brutus,

[*m*] Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

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NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him with Antony and Lepidus; and soon after brought him over to their Camp with all his troops.

D. BRUTUS being thus abandoned and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army, eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to save himself than by flying to his name-sake in *Macedonia*, but the distance was so great, and the country guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged where, either through treachery or accident, he was surprized by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General [n].

SEVERAL of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in his manner of suffering his death; unworthy of a man, who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those, who were disposed to throw kinds of contumely on the murderers of Cæsar [o].

BUT what gave the greatest shock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by Cæsar, and published by his Colleague Ped

[n] Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App.
1. 3. 588. Max. 9. 13.

[o] Senec. Ep. 82.
Dio. l. 46. 325. Val.

to bring to trial and justice all those, who had been concerned, either in advising, or effecting Cæsar's death: in consequence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeached in form by different accusers; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned of course; and by a second law *interdicted from fire and water*: Pompey also, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcilable enemy to the *Cæsarian cause*: after which, Cæsar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the Citizens the *Legacies*, which his *Uncle* had left them by will [p].

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

CICERO foresaw, that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous; and for that reason was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to *hasten to Italy*, as the most effectual means to prevent it: every step, that Cæsar took, confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his Letters to Brutus, he says he, I beseech you, and exhort Cassius to the same; for there is no hope of liberty but from your troops [q]. If you have any regard for the Republic, for which you were born, you must do it instantly; for the war is renewed by the inconstancy of Lepidus; and Cæsar's army, which was the best, is not onely of no service to us, but even obliges us to call for yours: as soon as

R 2

“ ever

[p] App. 1. 3. 586. Dio. litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Ad Brut. 10.
[q] Quamobrem advola, mecum — hortare idem per

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ ever you touch *Italy*, there is not a man,
 “ whom we can call a Citizen, who will not
 “ immediately be in your Camp. We have D
 “ Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus: but
 “ you are not ignorant, how changeable men
 “ minds are, and how infected with party, and
 “ how uncertain the events of war: nay, should
 “ we conquer, as I hope we shall, there will
 “ be a want of your advice and authority to see
 “ the all affairs. Help us therefore for God’s
 “ sake; and as soon as possible; and assure
 “ yourself, that you did not do a greater ser-
 “ vice to your country on *the Ides of March*
 “ when you freed it from slavery, than you will
 “ do by coming quickly [r].”

AFTER many remonstrances of the same
 kind, he wrote also the following Letter.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ After I had often exhorted you by Letters,
 “ come as soon as possible to the relief of the Roman
 “ public, and bring your army into *Italy*, and never
 “ ever imagined, that your own people had any
 “ scruples about it; I was desired by that most
 “ prudent and diligent woman, your Mother,
 “ all whose thoughts and cares are employed
 “ you, that I would come to her on the twen-
 “ ty fourth of *July*; which I did, as I ought
 “ without delay. When I came, I found C
 “ ca, Labeo, and Scaptius with her. She pre-
 “ sently entered into the affair, and asked my
 “ opinion, whether we should send for you
 “ *Italy*

[r] Subveni igitur, per Deos, idque quam primum; tibi- que persuade, non te *Idibus Martiis*, quibus servitu- tem a tuis civibus repul- plus profuisse patriæ, quam si mature veneris, profu- rum. Ib. 14.

Italy; and whether I thought it best for you to come, or to continue abroad. I declared, what I took to be the most for your honor and reputation, that without loss of time you should bring present help to the tottering and declining state. For what mischief may not one expect from that war, where the conquering armies refused to pursue a flying enemy? where a General unhurt, unprovoked, possessed of the highest honors, and the greatest fortunes, with a wife, children, and near relation to you, has declared war against the Commonwealth? I may add, where in so great a concord of the Senate and People, there resides still so much disorder within the walls? but the greatest grief which I feel, while I am now writing, is to reflect, that when the Republic had taken my word for a youth, or rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power, to make good what I promised for him. For it is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment, to engage oneself for another's sentiments and principles, especially in affairs of importance, than for money: for money may be paid, and the loss itself be tolerable: but how can you pay what you are engaged for to the Republic, unless he, for whom you stand engaged, will suffer it to be paid? yet I am still in hopes to hold him; though many are plucking him away from me: for his disposition seems good, though his age be flexible; and many always at hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in his way the splendor of false honor, think themselves sure of dazzling his good sense and understanding. Wherefore to all my other labours this new one is added, of setting

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
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NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ all engines at work to hold fast the young
 “ man, lest I incur the imputation of rashness.
 “ Though what rashness is it after all? for in
 “ reality, I bound him, for whom I was enga-
 “ ged, more strongly than myself: nor has the
 “ Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I
 “ was his sponsor: since he has hitherto been
 “ the more firm and constant in acting for us
 “ as well from his own temper, as for my pro-
 “ mise. The greatest difficulty in the Repub-
 “ lic, if I mistake not, is the want of money
 “ for honest men grow every day more and
 “ more averse to the name of Tribute; and
 “ what was gathered from the hundredth penny
 “ where the rich are shamefully rated, is al-
 “ spent in rewarding the two Legions. There
 “ is an infinite expence upon us, to support
 “ armies, which now defend us; and also young
 “ for our Cassius seems likely to come suffici-
 “ ly provided. But I long to talk over these
 “ and many other things with you in person
 “ and that quickly. As to your sister’s chil-
 “ dren, I did not wait, Brutus, for your w-
 “ ting to me: the times themselves, since
 “ war will be drawn into length, reserve
 “ whole affair to you: but from the first, w-
 “ I could not foresee the continuance of the w-
 “ I pleaded the cause of the Children in the
 “ nate, in a manner, which you have been
 “ formed of, I guess, by your mother’s
 “ ters: nor can there ever be any case, w-
 “ I will not both say and do, even at the haz-
 “ of my life, whatever I think agreeable ei-
 “ to your inclination, or to your interest.
 “ twenty sixth of *July* [s].”

IN a Letter likewise to Cassius, he says, A. Urb. 710.
 " we wish to see you in *Italy*, as soon as possible; Cic. 64.
 " and shall imagine, that we have recovered C. CÆSAR
 " the Republic, when we you with us. We OCTAVIA-
 " had conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not NUS,
 " received the routed, disarmed, fugitive, An- Q. PEDIUS.
 " tony: wherefore Antony himself was never
 " so odious to the City, as Lepidus is now:
 " for he began a war upon us from a turbulent
 " state of things; this man from peace and vi-
 " ctory. We have the Consuls elect to oppose him:
 " in whom indeed we have great hopes; yet
 " not without an anxious care for the uncertain
 " events of battels. Assure yourself therefore,
 " that all our dependance is on you, and your
 " Brutus; that you are both expected, but
 " Brutus immediately, &c. [t]."

BUT after all these repeated remonstrances of
 Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have
 entertained the least thought of coming with their
 armies to *Italy*. Cassius indeed, by being more
 remote, could not come so readily, and was not
 so much expected as Brutus; who, before the
 battel of *Modena*, had drawn down all his legi-
 ons to the sea coast, and kept them at *Apollonia*
 and *Dyrrhachium*, waiting the event of that ac-
 tion, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any ac-
 cident had made his assistance necessary; for
 which Cicero highly commends him [u]. But
 upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the
 danger to be over, he marched away directly to
 the remotest parts of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to

R 4

oppose

[t] Ep. fam. 12. 10.

[u] Tuum consilium ve-
 ementer laudo, quod non
 minus exercitum Apollonia

Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam
 de Antonii fuga audisti, Bru-
 ti eruptione, populi Roma-
 ni victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

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oppose the attempts of Dolabella ; and from that time seemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. It is difficult at this distance to penetrate the motives of his conduct : he had a better opinion of Lepidus, than the rest of his party had ; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good ; since some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's Letter, were of a different mind from Cicero, on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops ; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the Veterans in *Italy* ; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was intirely of Cicero's opinion : he saw himself surrounded with Veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty ; knew the perfidy of Lepidus ; the ambition of young Cæsar ; and the irresolution of his Colleague Plancus ; and admonished Cicero therefore in all his Letters, to urge his name to hasten his march to them [x]. So that on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe that if Brutus and Cassius had marched with the

[x] De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non defino, Ep. fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

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" in rem mi
" cisse dicis
" tibi opitul
" & orbus S
" amissis, &
" liae pecu
" Ep. fam.
[z] A

armies towards *Italy*, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the defection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
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NUS.
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THE want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another Letter to Cornificius, the Proconsul of *Afric*, who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his Legions:

“As to the expence, says he, which you have made, and are making in your military preparations, it is not in my power to help you; because the Senate is now without a head, by the death of the Consuls, and there is an incredible scarcity of money in the treasury; which we are gathering however from all quarters, to make good our promises to the troops, that have deserved it of us; which cannot be done in my opinion without a tribute [*y*].” This tribute was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man’s substance, but had been wholly disused in *Rome*, from the conquest of *Macedonia* by *Paulus Æmilius*, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the City ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it [*z*]. But from what Cicero intimates

of

[*y*] De sumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Consulibus amissis, & incredibiles angustiae pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 30.

[*z*] At Perse Rege devi-

cto Paullus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis nostræ paupertatem eo usque satiasset, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributî præstandi onere se liberaret. — Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hist. N. 33. 3.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of *Rome*; who, in this utmost exigency of the Republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the least share of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that by starving the cause, they found not onely their fortunes, but their lives also soon after at the mercy of their enemies. Cice-

“ro has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times.

“The Republic, says he, is attacked always

“with greater vigor, than it is defended: for

“the audacious and profligate, prompted by

“their natural enmity to it, are easily impel-

“led to act upon the least nod of their leaders:

“whereas the honest, I know not why, are

“generally slow and unwilling to stir; and

“neglecting always the beginnings of things,

“are never roused to exert themselves, but by

“the last necessity: so that through irresolution

“and delay, when they would be glad to com-

“pound at last for their quiet, at the expence

“even of their honour, they commonly lose

“them both [a].”

THIS observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money and other necessities from the Cities of *Asia*. He was engaged in an inexperienced war, where he must either conquer, or pe-

rish with the Republic itself, and where his Le-
gions were not onely to be supported but re-
warded: the revenues of the Empire were ex-
hausted; contributions came in sparingly; and
the states abroad were all desirous to stand neu-
ter; as doubtfull of the issue, and unwilling to
offend either side. Under these difficulties where
money was necessary, and no way of procuring
it but force, extortion became lawfull; the ne-
cessity of the end justified the means; and when
the safety of the Empire, and the liberty of *Rome*
were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples.
This was Cassius's way of reasoning, and the
ground of his acting; who applied all his
thoughts to support the cause, that he had un-
dertaken; and kept his eyes, as Appian says,
wholly fixt upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his
Antagonist [b].

BRUTUS, on the other hand, being of a tem-
per more mild and scrupulous, contented him-
self generally with the regular methods of raising
money; and from his love of Philosophy, and
the politer studies, having contracted an affecti-
on for the Cities of *Greece*, instead of levying
contributions, used to divert himself, where-
ever he passed, with seeing *their games and ex-*
ercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputa-
tions; as if travelling rather for curiosity, than
to provide materials for a bloody war [c]. When
he and Cassius therefore met, the difference of
their circumstances shewed the different effects
of

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
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[b] Ὁ μὲν Κασσιὺς ἀμε-
τασρεπῶς, καὶ δάπτει ἐς τὴν ἀγω-
νιστὴν οἱ μονομαχῶντες, ἐς
μόνον τὴν πόλεμον ἀρεῶντα.
App. l. 4. 667.

[c] Ὁ δὲ Βρούτος, ὅπου γί-
νοιτο, καὶ φιλοδευμάτων ἦν καὶ φι-
λήκοιτο, αὐτὸ καὶ φιλοσοφίας
ἐκ ἀγνῶστος. Ibid.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from *Rome*, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from *Italy*, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius; who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure, which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service [d].

WHILE Cicero was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in *Italy*, and judging of counsils by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, *that, by a profusion of honors on young Cæsar*, he had inspired him with an ambition, incompatible with the safety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that by those honors Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public service and the ruin of Antony: in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreseen. For it is evident from the facts above mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till by the death of the Consuls, he slipped out of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at such a distance,

[d] Plutarch. in Bruto.

stance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting those honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in *Italy*, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint in some of his Letters, *that they ought to have decreed still greater* [e].

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

BUT whatever Brutus, or any one else may have said, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæsar's death to his own, we shall find it in all respects uniform, great and glorious; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view, the liberty of his country: whereas, if we attend to Brutus's, we cannot help observing in it, something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the severity of an old *Roman*; yet by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his Friend and Benefactor; and declares, that for the same cause *he would have killed even his Father* [f]: yet he would not take Antony's life, though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When *Dolabella had basely murdered Trebonius*, and *Antony* openly approved the act, he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. Antony: but through a vain ostentation of clemency, suffered him to live, though with danger to himself. When his brother in law

Lepidus

[e] Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lator, mea consilia, measque sententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Ep. fam. xi. 14. it. 20.
[f] — Non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli,

sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu possit. [ad Brut. 16.] sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. [ib. 17.]

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.
Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

Lepidus *was declared an enemy*, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever restored; or if not, in their Father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus, from whom he derived his descent, and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate? He blames Cicero for *dispensing honors too largely*, yet claims an infinite share of them to himself; and when he had seized by his private authority, what the Senate, at Cicero's motion confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man; he declares himself *an enemy to all extraordinary commissions*, in what hands soever they were lodged [g]: this inconsistency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many cases by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled Principles of Philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

Cicero however, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last: as soon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that *amnesty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the publick peace. This was certainly

[g] Ego certe—cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno, & imperiis extra-

ordinariis & dominatione potentia.—Ad Brut. 17.

the best service, which he could do, either to Brutus, or the Republic; and Atticus imagining, that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that subject: but instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus onely the more: he treated it as base and dishonourable, to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the safety of Brutus, to depend on any one but himself: and signified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus in such a stile, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed, and more than once declared of him, *that his Letters were generally churlish, unmannerly and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing* [b]. But their own Letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

" You have MESSALA now with you. It is not possible therefore for me to explaine by Letter, though ever so accurately drawn, the present state of our affairs so exactly as he, who not onely knows them all more perfectly, but can describe them more elegantly than any man: for I would not have you imagine, Brutus, (though there is no occasion to tell
" you

[b] Ad Att. 6. 1, 3.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ you, what you know already yourself, but
 “ that I cannot pass over in silence such an ex-
 “ cellence of all good qualities :) I would not
 “ have you imagine, I say, that for probity,
 “ constancy, and zeal for the Republic, there
 “ is any one equal to him ; so that eloquence,
 “ in which he wonderfully excels, scarce finds
 “ a place among his other praises : since even in
 “ that, his wisdom shines the most eminent, by
 “ his having formed himself with so much
 “ judgement and skill to the truest manner of
 “ speaking. Yet his industry all the while is
 “ so remarkable, and he spends so much of his
 “ time in study, that he seems to owe but little
 “ to his parts, which still are the greatest. But
 “ I am carried too far by my love for him: for
 “ it is not the purpose of this Epistle to praise
 “ Messala, especially to Brutus, to whom his
 “ virtue is not less known, than to myself
 “ and these very studies, which I am praising
 “ still more: whom when I could not part with
 “ without regret, I comforted myself with re-
 “ flecting, that by his going away to you, as I
 “ were, to my second self, he both discharged
 “ his duty, and pursued the surest path to glo-
 “ ry. But so much for that [i]. I come now

[i] Publius Valerius Mes-
 sala Corvinus, of whom Ci-
 cero here gives so fine a cha-
 racter, was one of the no-
 blest as well as the most ac-
 complished persons of his
 age, who lived long after-
 wards the general favorite of
 all parties, and a principal
 ornament of Augustus's
 court. Being in arms with
 Brutus, he was proscribed of

course by the *Triumvirate*
 yet was excepted soon after
 by a special edict ; but refused
 the benefit of that grace,
 and adhered to the cause of
 liberty, till he saw it expire
 with his friend. After the
 battel of *Philippi*, the troops
 that remained, freely offered
 themselves to his command;
 but he chose to accept
 peace, to which he was
 invited

“ after a long interval, to consider a certain Letter of yours, in which, while you allow me to have done well in many things, you find fault with me for one; that in conferring honors, I was too free, and even prodigal. You charge me with this; others probably, with being too severe in punishing, or you yourself perhaps with both: if so, I desire that my judgement and sentiments on each may be clearly explained to you: not that I

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invited by the Conquerors, and surrendered himself to Antony, with whom he had particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated not long after by S. Pompey on the coast of *Sicily*, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself with one domestic to the fidelity of Messala; who instead of revenging himself on one, who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of Antony, till the end of Antony's life, and with obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly to the interests of Cæsar, whom he was declared consul in Antony's place, and greatly intrusted in the battle of *Actium*; and honored at last with a Triumph, for reducing the rebellious *Gauls* to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators of his age; and having been the disciple of Cicero, was

thought by some to excel even his master, in the sweetness and correctness of his style; preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of Philosophy, yet an eminent Patron of all the Wits and Poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his Elegies; and Horace, in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611, 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibull. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

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OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ mean to justify myself by the authority of
 “ Solon, the wisest of the seven, and the onely
 “ Legislator of them all ; who used to say, that
 “ the public weal was comprized in two things,
 “ *rewards and punishments* ; in which however,
 “ as in every thing else, a certain medium and
 “ temperament is to be observed. But it is
 “ not my design at this time to discuss so great
 “ a subject : I think it proper onely, to open
 “ the reasons of my votes and opinions in the Se-
 “ nate, from the beginning of this war. After
 “ the death of Cæsar, and those your memoranda
 “ of the *Ides of March*, you cannot forget, Brutus
 “ what I declared to have been omitted by you
 “ and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over
 “ the Republic : you had freed us from a great
 “ plague ; wiped off a great stain from the Ro-
 “ man people ; acquired to yourselves divine
 “ glory : yet all the equipage and furniture of
 “ Kingly power was left still to Lepidus and
 “ Antony ; the one inconstant, the other vio-
 “ lent ; both of them afraid of peace, and en-
 “emies to the public quiet. While these men
 “ were eager to raise fresh disturbances in the
 “ Republic, we had no guard about us to op-
 “ pose them ; though the whole City was
 “ eager and unanimous in asserting it's liberty.
 “ I was then thought too violent ; while you
 “ perhaps more wisely withdrew yourself
 “ from that City, which you had delivered
 “ and refused the help of all *Italy*, which offer-
 “ ed to arm itself in your cause. Wherefore
 “ when I saw the City in the hands of traitors
 “ oppressed by the arms of Antony, and that
 “ neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it,
 “ thought it time for me to quit it too : for
 “ City overpowered by traitors, without

“ me

“ means of relieving itself, is a wretched spe-
 “ ctacle: Yet my mind, always the same, and
 “ ever fixed on the love of my Country, could
 “ not bear the thought of leaving it in it’s di-
 “ stress: in the midst therefore of my voyage to
 “ Greece, and in the very season of the *Etesian*
 “ winds, when an uncommon South wind, as
 “ if displeased with my resolution, had driven
 “ me back to *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and
 “ was greatly concerned at it: for you were re-
 “ treating, Brutus; were retreating, I say;
 “ since your *Stoics* will not allow their wiseman
 “ to fly. As soon as I came to *Rome*, I ex-
 “ posed myself to the wickedness and rage of
 “ Antony; and when I had exasperated him
 “ against me, began to enter into measures, in
 “ the very manner of the Brutus’s, (for such
 “ are peculiar to your blood) for delivering the
 “ Republic. I shall omit the long recital of
 “ what followed, since it all relates to myself;
 “ and observe onely, that young Cæsar, by
 “ whom, if we will confess the truth, we sub-
 “ sist at this day, flowed from the source of my
 “ counsils. I decreed him no honors, Brutus,
 “ but what were due; none but what were ne-
 “ cessary: for as soon as we began to recover
 “ any liberty, and before the virtue of D. Bru-
 “ tus had yet shewn itself so far, that we could
 “ know it’s divine force; and while our whole
 “ defence was in the boy, who repelled Anto-
 “ ny from our necks; what honor was not
 “ really due to him? though I gave him no-
 “ thing yet, but the praise of words; and that
 “ but moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal
 “ command: which, though it seemed honor-
 “ able to one of that age, was yet necessary to
 “ one, who had an army: for what is an army

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ without the command of it? Philip voted
 “ him a statue; Servius the privilege of suing
 “ for offices before the legal time; which was
 “ shortened still by Servilius: nothing was then
 “ thought too much: but we are apt, I know
 “ not how, to be more liberal in fear, than
 “ gratefull in success. When D. Brutus was
 “ delivered from the siege, a day of all others
 “ the most joyous to the City, which happen-
 “ ed also to be his birth day, I decreed, that
 “ his name should be ascribed for ever to that
 “ day, in the public *Kalendars*. In which I
 “ followed the example of our ancestors, who
 “ paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia;
 “ at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites
 “ in the *Velabrum*: by giving this to D. Bru-
 “ tus, my design was, to fix in the *Kalendars*
 “ a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable
 “ victory: but I perceived on that day, that
 “ there was more malevolence than gratitude,
 “ in many of the Senate. During these same
 “ days, I poured out honors (since you will have
 “ it so) on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa and A-
 “ quila: and who can find fault with it, but
 “ those, who, when fear is once over, forget
 “ their past danger? But besides the grateful
 “ remembrance of services, there was an use in
 “ it, which reached to posterity: for I was de-
 “ sirous, that there should remain an eterna-
 “ monument of the public hatred to our most
 “ cruel enemies. There is one thing I doubt
 “ which does not please you; for it does not
 “ please your friends here; who, though ex-
 “ cellent men, have but little experience in
 “ public affairs; that I decreed *an ovation* to
 “ Cæsar: but for my part, (though I may per-
 “ haps be mistaken, for I am not one of those

"those, who approve nothing, but what is
 "my own;) I cannot but think, that I have ad-
 "vised nothing more prudent during this war.
 "Why it is so, is not proper to be explained,
 "lest I be thought to have been more provident
 "in it than grateful: but even this is too much:
 "let us pass therefore to other things. I decreed
 "honors to D. Brutus; decreed them to Plan-
 "cus: they must be men of great souls who are
 "attracted by glory: but the Senate also is cer-
 "tainly wise, in trying every art that is honest,
 "by which it can engage any one to the service
 "of the Republic. But I am blamed in the
 "case of Lepidus: to whom after I had raised
 "a Statue in the Rostra, I presently threw it
 "down. My view in that honor was, to re-
 "clame him from desperate measures; but the
 "madness of an inconstant man got the better
 "of my prudence: nor was there yet so much
 "harm in erecting, as good in demolishing the
 "Statue. But I have said enough concerning
 "honors; and must say a word or two about
 "punishments: for I have often observed from
 "your Letters, that you are fond of acquiring
 "a reputation of clemency, by your treatment
 "of those whom you have conquered in war.
 "I can imagine nothing to be done by you,
 "but what is wisely done: but to omit the pu-
 "nishing of wickedness (which we call pardon-
 "ing) tho' it be tolerable in other cases, I hold
 "to be pernicious in this war. Of all the civil
 "wars that have been in my memory, there
 "was not one, in which, what side soever got
 "the better, there would not have remained
 "some form of a Commonwealth: yet in this,
 "what sort of a Republic we are like to have
 "if we conquer, I would not easily affirm; but

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ if we are conquered, we are sure to have
 “ none. My votes therefore were severe against
 “ Antony; severe against Lepidus; not from
 “ any spirit of revenge, but to deter wicked
 “ Citizens at present from making war against
 “ their Country; and to leave an example to
 “ posterity, that none hereafter should imitate
 “ such rashness. Yet this very vote was not
 “ more mine, than it was every body's: in
 “ which there seems, I own, to be something
 “ cruel, that the punishment should reach to
 “ children, who have done nothing to deserve
 “ it: but the constitution is both ancient, and
 “ of all Cities; for even Themistocles's chil-
 “ dren were reduced to want: and since the
 “ same punishment falls upon Citizens, con-
 “ demned of public crimes, how was it possible
 “ for us to be more gentle towards enemies?
 “ But how can that man complain of me, who
 “ if he had conquered, must needs confess, that
 “ he would have treated me even with more
 “ severity? You have now the motives of my
 “ opinions in the case of rewards and punish-
 “ ments: for as to other points, you have
 “ heard, I imagine, what my sentiments are
 “ votes have been. But to talk of these things
 “ now is not necessary; what I am going
 “ say, is extremely so, Brutus; that you come
 “ to *Italy* with your army as soon as possible.
 “ We are in the utmost expectation of you
 “ whenever you set foot in *Italy*, all the world
 “ will fly to you: for whether it be our lot
 “ to conquer, (as we had already done, if Lepi-
 “ dus had not been desirous to overturn a
 “ and perish himself with his friends) there will
 “ be a great want of your authority, for
 “ settling some state of a City amongst us;

“ if there be any danger and struggle still be-
 hind, hasten to us for God’s sake: for you
 know, how much depends on opportunity,
 how much on dispatch. What diligence I
 shall use in the care of your sister’s children,
 you will soon know, I hope, from your mo-
 ther’s and sister’s Letters: in whose cause I
 have more regard to your will, which is ever
 most dear to me, than, as some think, to my
 own constancy; but it is my desire both to
 be, and to appear constant, in nothing so
 much as in loving you [k].”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

“ I HAVE read a part of your Letter, which
 you sent to Octavius, transmitted to me by
 Atticus. Your zeal and concern for my safe-
 ty gave me no new pleasure: for it is not
 onely common, but our daily news, to hear
 something, which you have said or done with
 your usual fidelity, in the support of my ho-
 nor and dignity. Yet that same part of your
 Letter affected me with the most sensible
 grief, which my mind could possibly receive.
 For you compliment him so highly for his
 services to the Republic: and in a strain so
 suppliant and abject; that, — what shall I
 say? — I am ashamed of the wretched state,
 to which we are reduced, — yet it must be
 said — you recommend my safety to him;
 to which what death is not preferable? and
 plainly shew, that our servitude is not yet a-
 bolished, but our master onely changed. Re-
 collect your words, and deny them, if you
 dare, to be the prayers of a slave to his King.

S 4

“ There

[k] Ad Brut. 15.

A Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ There is one thing, you say, which is re-
 “ quired and expected from him, that he would
 “ allow those Citizens to live in safety, of whom
 “ all honest men, and the people of *Rome* think
 “ well. But what, if he will not allow it?
 “ Shall we be the less safe for that? It is better
 “ not to be safe, than to be saved by him. For
 “ my part, I can never think all the Gods so
 “ averse to the preservation of the *Roman* peo-
 “ ple, that Octavius must be intreated for the
 “ life of any one Citizen; much less for the de-
 “ liverers of the world. It is a pleasure to me
 “ to talk thus magnificently; and it even be-
 “ comes me to those, who know not either
 “ what to fear for any one, or what to ask of
 “ any one. Can you allow Octavius to have
 “ this power, and yet be his friend? or if you
 “ have any value for me, would you wish to
 “ see me at *Rome*, when I must first be recom-
 “ mended to the boy, that he would permit me
 “ to be there? what reason can you have to
 “ thank him, if you think it necessary to be-
 “ of him, that he would grant and suffer us to
 “ live with safety? or is it to be reckoned
 “ kindness, that he chuses to see himself, rather
 “ than Antony, in the condition, to have suc-
 “ petitions addressed to him; one may suppli-
 “ cate indeed the successor, but never the abo-
 “ lisher of a tyranny, that those, who have de-
 “ served well of the Republic, may be safe.
 “ was this weakness and despair, not more
 “ blameable indeed in you, than in all, who
 “ first pushed Cæsar to the ambition of reign-
 “ ing; and after his death, encouraged Ant-
 “ ny, to think of seizing his place; and he
 “ now raised this boy so high, that you judge
 “ it necessary to address your prayers to him

“ the preservation of men of our rank ; and
 “ that we can be saved onely by the mercy of
 “ one, scarce yet a man ; and by no other means.
 “ But if we had remembered ourselves to be
 “ *Romans*, these infamous men would not be
 “ more daring to aim at dominion, than we to
 “ repell it : nor would Antony be more encour-
 “ aged by Cæsar’s reign, than deterred by his
 “ fate. How can you, a Consular Senator,
 “ and the avenger of so many treasons, (by sup-
 “ pressing which, you have but postponed our
 “ ruin I fear, for a time,) reflect on what you
 “ have done, and yet approve these things, or
 “ bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to
 “ approve them? for what particular grudge
 “ had you to Antony? no other, but that he
 “ assumed all this to himself; that our lives
 “ should be begged of him; our safety be pre-
 “ carious, from whom he had received his li-
 “ berty; and the Republic depend on his will
 “ and pleasure. You thought it necessary to
 “ take arms, to prevent him from tyrannizing
 “ at this rate: but was it your intent, that by
 “ preventing him, we might sue to another,
 “ who would suffer himself to be advanced into
 “ his place, or that the Republic might be free
 “ and mistress of itself? as if our quarrel was
 “ not perhaps to slavery, but to the conditions
 “ of it. But we might have had, not onely
 “ an easy master in Antony, if we would have
 “ been content with that, but whatever share
 “ with him we pleased, of favors and honors.
 “ For what could he deny to those, whose pa-
 “ tience, he saw, was the best support of his
 “ government? but nothing was of such value
 “ to us, that we would sell our faith and our
 “ liberty for it. This very boy, whom the
 “ name

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 71C.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

“ name of Cæsar seems to incite against the de-
 “ stroyers of Cæsar, at what rate would he value
 “ it (if there was any room to traffic with him)
 “ to be enabled by our help, to maintain his
 “ present power; since we have a mind to live
 “ and to be rich, and to be called Consulars
 “ but then Cæsar must have perished in vain
 “ for what reason had we to rejoice at his death
 “ if after it, we were still to continue slaves
 “ Let other people be as indolent as they please
 “ but may the Gods and Goddeses deprive me
 “ sooner of every thing, than the resolution
 “ not to allow to the heir of him, whom
 “ killed, what I did not allow to the man him-
 “ self; nor would suffer, even in my Father
 “ were he living; *to have more power than the*
 “ *laws and the Senate.* How can you imagine
 “ that any one can be free under him, without
 “ whose leave there is no place for us in this
 “ City? or how is it possible for you after all
 “ to obtain what you ask? You ask, that he
 “ would allow us to be safe. Shall we then
 “ receive safety, think you, when we receive
 “ life? But how can we receive it, if we first
 “ part with our honor and our liberty? Do
 “ you fancy, that to live at *Rome* is to be safe
 “ It is the thing, and not the place, which
 “ must secure that to me: for I was never safe
 “ while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved on this
 “ attempt: nor can I in any place live in exile
 “ as long as I hate slavery and affronts above
 “ all other evils. Is not this to fall back again
 “ into the same state of darkness; when he
 “ who has taken upon him the name of the ty-
 “ rant, (though in the Cities of *Greece*, where
 “ the Tyrants are destroyed, their children all
 “ perish with them,) must be entreated, that

“ th

the avengers of tyranny may be safe? Can I
 ever wish to see that City, or think it a City,
 which would not accept liberty when offered,
 and even forced upon it, but has more dread
 of the name of their late King, in the person
 of a boy, than confidence in itself; though
 it has seen that very King taken off in the
 heighth of all his power by the virtue of a
 few? As for me, do not recommend me any
 more to your Cæsar, nor indeed yourself, if
 you will hearken to me. You set a very
 high value on the few years, which remain
 to you at that age, if for the sake of them
 you can supplicate that boy. But take care
 after all, lest what you have done and are
 doing so laudably against Antony, instead of
 being praised, as the effect of a great mind,
 be charged to the account of your fear. For
 if you are so pleased with Octavius, as to pe-
 tition him for our safety, you will be thought
 not to have disliked a Master, but to have
 wanted a more friendly one. As to your
 praising him for the things, that he has hi-
 therto done, I intirely approve it: for they
 deserved to be praised, provided that he un-
 dertook them, to repell other men's power,
 not to advance his own. But when you ad-
 judge him, not onely to have this power,
 but that you ought to submit to it so far, as
 to entreat him that he would not destroy us;
 you pay him too great a recompense: for you
 ascribe that very thing to him, which the
 Republic seemed to enjoy through him: nor
 does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if
 Octavius be worthy of any honors, because
 he wages war with Antony; that those, who
 extirpated the very evil, of which these are
 “ but

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

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C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS.

“ but the reliques, can never be sufficiently re-
 “ quited by the *Roman* people; though they
 “ were to heap upon them every thing which
 “ they could bestow: but see how much stronger
 “ people’s fears are, than their memories, be-
 “ cause Antony still lives, and is in arms. As
 “ to Cæsar, all that could and ought to be done
 “ is past, and cannot be recalled: is Octavius
 “ then a person of so great importance, that the
 “ people of *Rome* are to expect from him, what
 “ he will determine upon us? or are we of so
 “ little, that any single man is to be entreat-
 “ ed for our safety? As for me, may I never
 “ return to you, if ever I either supplicate any
 “ man, or do not restrain those, who are dispo-
 “ sed to do it, from supplicating for themselves
 “ or I will remove to a distance from all such
 “ who can be slaves, and fancy myself at *Rome*
 “ where ever I can live free; and shall pity you
 “ whose fond desire of life, neither age, nor ho-
 “ nors, nor the example of other men’s virtue
 “ can moderate. For my part, I shall ever
 “ think myself happy, as long as I can please
 “ myself with the persuasion, that my piety has
 “ been fully requited. For what can be hap-
 “ pier, than for a man, conscious of virtuous
 “ acts, and content with liberty, to despise all
 “ human affairs? Yet I will never yield to those
 “ who are fond of yielding, or be conquered
 “ by those, who are willing to be conquered
 “ themselves; but will first try and attempt
 “ every thing; nor ever desist from dragging
 “ our City out of slavery. If such fortune at-
 “ tends me, as I ought to have, we shall all re-
 “ joice: if not, I shall rejoice myself. For
 “ how could this life be spent better, than in
 “ acts and thoughts, which tend to make me

“ ‘Country

Countrymen free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert the cause through weariness or diffidence: in repelling present evils, have your eye always on the future, lest they insinuate themselves before you are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and courage, with which you delivered the Republic, when Consul, and now again when Consular, are nothing without constancy and equability. The case of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of untried: we require services from it, as debts; and if any thing disappoints us, we blame with resentment, as if we had been deceived. Wherefore for Cicero to withstand Antony, though it be a part highly commendable, yet because such a Consul seemed of course to promise us such a Consular, nobody wonders at it: but if the same Cicero, in the case of others, should waver at last in that resolution, which he exerted with such firmness and greatness of mind against Antony, he would deprive himself, not onely of the hopes of future glory, but forfeit even that which is past: for nothing is great in itself, but what flows from the result of our judgment: nor does it become any man, more than you, to love the Republic, and to be the Patron of liberty, on the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or the wishes and expectation of all men. Octavius therefore must not be entreated, to suffer us to live in safety. Do you rather rouse yourself so far, as to think that City, in which you have acted the noblest part, free and flourishing, as long as there are Leaders still

“ to

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

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C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

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C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

“ to the people, to resist the designs of Traitors [1].”

IF we compare these two Letters, we shall perceive in Cicero's an extensive view and true judgement of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honours

[1] Ad Brut. 16.

N. B. There is a passage indeed in Brutus's *Letter to Atticus*, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against Cicero, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that Cicero *had reproached Casca with the murder of Cæsar, and called him an Assassin*. I do not know, says he, *what I can write to you but this, that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy has been inflamed, rather than restrained by Cicero, who carries his indulgence of him to such a length, as not to refrain from abuses upon Casca, and such, as must return doubly upon himself, who has put to death more Citizens, than one, and must first own himself to be an Assassin, before he can reproach Casca, with what he objects to him.*

[Ep. ad Brut. 17.] Manutius professes himself unable to conceive, how Cicero *should ever call Casca a murderer*; yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible,

and inconsistent with every word, that Cicero had been saying, and every act, that he had been doing from the time of Cæsar's death: and in relation particularly to Casca, we have seen above how he refused to enter into any measures with Octavius but upon the express condition of his suffering Casca to take quiet possession of the *Tribunate*: it is certain therefore, that Brutus had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with the consequential meaning some saying, which was never intended by him; in advising Casca perhaps to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an *Assassin*, and treat him as such: but an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of Brutus, taking it as a direct condemnation of Casca's act of *murdering Cæsar*, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause.

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to himself, yet allowing none to any body else ; A. Urb. 710.
 insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much Cic. 64.
 superior to him in wisdom as he was in years ; Coff.
 the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of C. CÆSAR
 the Stoics, enforced without any regard to times OCTAVIA-
 and circumstances : *that a wise man has a suffi-* NUS,
ciency of all things within himself. There are in- Q. PEDIUS.
 deed many noble sentiments in it worthy of old
 Rome, which Cicero in a proper season would
 have recommended as warmly as he ; yet they
 were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture
 so critical ; and the rigid application of them is
 no less excusable in Brutus, because he himself
 did not always practise what he professed ; but
 was too apt to forget both *the Stoic* and *the*
Roman.

OCTAVIUS had no sooner settled the affairs
 of the City, and subdued the Senate to his mind,
 than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet
 Antony and Lepidus ; who had already passed
 the *Alps*, and brought their armies into *Italy*, in
 order to have a personal interview with him ;
 which had been privately concerted, for settling
 the terms of a *triple league*, and dividing the
 power and provinces of the Empire among
 themselves. All *the three* were natural enemies
 to each other ; Competitors for Empire ; and
 aiming severally to possess, what could not be
 obtained but with the ruin of the rest : their
 meeting therefore was not to establish any real
 unity or lasting concord, for that was impossi-
 ble, but to suspend their own quarrels for the
 present, and with common forces to oppress their
 common enemies, the friends of liberty and the
 Republic ; without which all their several hopes
 and ambitious views must inevitably be blast-

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

THE place appointed for the interview, was a small Island, about two miles from Bononia, formed by the river *Rbenus*, which runs near to that City [*n*]: here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other, being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five Legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the Island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river and passed into the Island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side by *three hundred of their own men*. Their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honorable place, on the account of his being Consul.

IN this situation they spent three days in close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was, that *the Three* should be invested jointly with supreme power for the term of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs, for settling the state of the Republic*: that they should act in all cases by common consent, nominate the Magistrates and Governors both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by the sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have for his peculiar province, *Afric*, with

[*n*] Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

cily, Sardinia, and the other Islands of the Medi-
 terranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narboneſe
 Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls on both
 ſides of the Alps: and to put them all upon a
 level, both in title and authority, that Octavius
 ſhould reſign the Conſulſhip to Ventidius for
 the remainder of the year: that Antony and
 Octavius ſhould proſecute the war againſt Bru-
 tus and Caſſius, each of them at the head of
 twenty Legions; and Lepidus with three Legions
 be left to guard the City: and at the end of the
 war, that eighteen Cities or Colonies, the beſt and
 richeſt of Italy, together with their lands and
 diſtricts, ſhould be taken from their owners,
 and aſſigned to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the
 ſoldiers, as the reward of their faithful ſervices.
 Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral
 armies, and received by them with acclamations
 of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy
 union of their Chiefs; which at the deſire of
 the ſoldiers was ratified likewise by a marriage,
 agreed to be conſummated between Octavius
 and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife
 Fulvia, by her firſt huſband P. Clodius.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

THE laſt thing that they adjusted, was the
 of a *proſcription*, which they were determi-
 ned to make of their enemies. This, as the
 writers tell us, occaſioned much difficulty and
 warm conteſts amongſt them; till each of them
 in his turn conſented to ſacrifice ſome of his beſt
 friends to the revenge and reſentment of his
 colleagues. The whole liſt is ſaid to have con-
 ſiſted of three hundred Senators, and two thouſand
 knights; all doom'd to die for a crime the moſt
 unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the
 uſe of liberty. They reſerved the publication
 of the general liſt to their arrival at Rome, ex-
 cepting

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

cepting onely a few of the most obnoxious; the Heads of the Republican party, about *seventeen* in all; the chief of whom was Cicero. These they mark'd out for immediate destruction; and sent their Emissaries away directly to surprize and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the City with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: so that the Consul Pedius was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds and appease the fears of the people; and as soon as it was light published the names of *the seventeen*, who were principally sought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that *he died the day following* [o].

WE have no hint from any of Cicero's Letters (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview with *the three Chiefs*; or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee that it must needs be fatal to him, if he passed to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus in *Macedonia*: but he seems to have thought that

[o] App. 1. 4. init. Dio. Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. &

remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it *a thousand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps* [p]: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS.
Q. PEDIUS.

THE old Historians endeavour to persuade us, that Cæsar did not give him up to the revenge of his Collegues without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him [q]: but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed, to give the better color to his desertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union, and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of *the Three*: those who set to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy; and experience had shewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

CÆSAR therefore was pleased with it undoubtedly, as much as the rest; and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, shewed himself *more cruel and bloody* in urging the proscription, than either of the other two [r].

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Nothing,

[p] Reipub. vicem dolebo, ib. 16. 7.

[q] Plutar. in Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[r] Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscription, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet. Aug. 27.

[ad Att. 14. 22] sed a
Te hanc ætatem longe a
ulchro negant oportere.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

Nothing, says Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion, as that Cæsar should be forced to proscribe any man; or that Cicero especially should be proscribed by him [s]. But there was no force in the case: for tho', to save Cæsar's honor, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paullus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the list; yet neither of them lost their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations [t].

IF we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of *these Triumvirs*, we shall see Antony, roused at once by Cæsar's death from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and in the most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprizing vigor and address till after many and almost insuperable difficulties he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very successfully at home, till he found himself in a condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of the *Alps*, that in case of any disaster in *Italy*, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. In this management he had ordered his affairs artfully, that by conquering at *Modena*, he would have made himself probably the sole Master of Rome; while the only difference of being conquered, was to admit two partners with

[s] Nihil tam indignum illo Cicero proscriptus illo tempore fuit, quam Vell. Pat. 2. 66.
quod aut Cæsar aliquem pro- [t] Appian. l. 4. 6
scribere coactus est, aut ab Dio. l. 47. 330.

him into the Empire ; the one of whom at least he was sure always to govern.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
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OCTAVIUS's conduct was not less politic or vigorous : he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him to succede immediately to his Uncle's power, so his first business was, to keep the place vacant till he should be more ripe for it ; and to give the exclusion in the mean while to every body else. With this view he acted the *Republican* with great gravity ; put himself under the direction of Cicero ; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him ; that is, *to depress Antony, and drive him out of Italy* ; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short, and paused a while, to consider what new measures this new state of things would suggest : when by the unexpected death of the two Consuls, finding himself at once the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rising again the stronger from his fall, he saw presently that his best chance for Empire was, to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole ; and from the same policy with which he joined himself with the Republic to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony to oppress the Republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

LEPIDUS was the Dupe of them both ; a vain, weak, inconstant man ; incapable of Empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it ; and missing the most glorious opportunity of serving his Country, to the ruin both of his Coun-

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
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try and himself. His wife was the Sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Lælius, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus to oppress Antony, and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him likewise the first share of Empire: not considering that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it: in which, as his Collegues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case: when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, *though at the head of twenty Legions; and deposed him from that dignity, which he knew not how to sustain* [u].

CICERO was at his *Tusculan Villa*, with his Brother and Nephew, when he first received the news of the *Proscription*, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprize those whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently with his Brother and Nephew towards *Astura*; the nearest Villa which

[u] Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Val. Pat. 2. 8.

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he had upon the sea ; with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero in the mean while found a vessel ready for him at *Astura*, in which he presently embarked : but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at *Circæum*, and spent a night near that place in great anxiety and irresolution : the question was, what course he should steer ; and whether he should fly to Brutus, or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius ; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying [x] : so that, as Plutarch says, he had some thoughts of returning to the City, and killing himself in Cæsar's house ; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude : but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to *Cajeta* ; where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his *Formian Villa*, about a mile from the coast ; weary of life and the sea ; and declaring, that he would die in that Country, which he had so often saved [y]. Here he slept

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A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
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NUS,
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[x] Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, munne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suafor. 6.

[y] Tædium tandem eum fugæ & vitæ cepit : re-

gressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, moriar inquit in patria, sæpe servata. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suafor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

foundly for several hours ; tho', as some writers tell us, " a great number of Crows were fluttering all the while, and making a strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate ; and that one of them made its way into the chamber and pulled away his very bed-cloaths ; till his slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed to see brute creatures more solicitous for his safety than themselves, forced him into his Litter, or portable Chair," and carried him away towards the ship, thro' the private ways and walks of his woods ; having just heard that soldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and not far from the Villa. As soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house ; and perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea and overtook him in the wood. Their Leader was one Popilius Lænas, a Tribun, or Colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, *the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own : but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance* [z] : then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness, which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck, as forwardly as he could, out of the Litter, he bade them *do their work, and take what they wanted* upon which they presently cut off *his Head*, and

[z] Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum : ipsum deponi lecticam, & quietos

pati, quod fors iniqua cogit, jussisse. Liv. Fragment. ibid.

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both his hands, and returned with them in all haste and great joy towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which had saved his own [a]: he found Antony in the Forum, surrounded with guards and crouds of people; but upon shewing from a distance the spoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with the honor of a Crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the Rostra, between the two hands: a sad spectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of Sycophants and Traitors. The deaths of the rest, says an Historian of that age, caused onely a private and particular sorrow; but Cicero's an universal one [b]: it was a triumph over the Republic itself; and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of Rome. Antony considered it as such, and satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the Proscription at an end.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS.

Q. PEDIUS,

HE

[a] Ea Sarcina, tanquam
imis spoliis alacer in urbem
versus est. Nequi ei scele-
m portanti onus succurrit,
ud se caput ferre, quod pro
pate ejus quondam perora-
rat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

[b] Cæterorumque cædes

privatos luctus excitaverunt;
illa una communem — [Cre-
mutius Cordus. apud Senec.]
Civitas lacrymas tenere non
potuit, quum recisum Cice-
ronis caput in illis suis Ro-
stris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

HE was killed *on the seventh of December*; about ten days from the settlement of the Triumvirate; after he had lived *sixty three years, eleven months, and five days* [c].

[c] Vid. Plutar. in Cic. 601. Dio. l. 47. p. 330.
Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710.
apud Senec. Appian. l. 4.

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S E C T. XII.

THE story of Cicero's death continued fresh on the minds of the *Romans* for many ages after it ; and was delivered down to posterity with all its circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their History : so that the spot, on which it happened, seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence [a]. The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony ; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus : which explains the reason of that silence, which is observed about him, by the writers of that age ; and why his name is not so much as mentioned either by Horace or Virgil. For though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for Court Poets ; since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the Prince ; especially while Antony lived ; among the Sycophants of whose Court, it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent : nay Virgil, on an occasion, that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to *Rome* itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to the *Greeks*, which they themselves had been forced to yield to Cicero [b].

LIVY

[a] Sæpe Clodio Cicero-
em expellenti & Antonio
accidenti, videmur irasci.
en. de ira. 2. 2.

Κικέρων—πύγων εἰς ἱδὸν

χαείον, ὃ καὶ ἵστεται τῆς τῆς
παύσης εἰδόν. App. p. 600.

[b]—Orabunt causas meli-
us, &c. Æn. 6. 849.

LIVY however, whose candor made Augustus call him *a Pompeian* [c], while out of complaisance to the times, he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, *that to praise him as he deserved, required the eloquence of Cicero himself* [d]. Augustus too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the Emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it gave it back again, and said, *this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country* [e].

IN the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defamed him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper luster: and in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent Senator and

[c] — T. Livius — Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[d] Siquis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes sequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. Liv. Fragment. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

[e] Plutar. vit. Cicer. There is another story of the same kind recorded by Macrobius, to shew Augustus's moderation with regard also to Cato: that Augustus be-

ing one day in the house which had belonged to Cato, where the master of it, out of compliment to his guest, took occasion to reflect on Cato's perverseness, he stopped him short by saying, *that he who would suffer no change in the constitution of his City, was a good citizen, and honest man*: but this character of Cato's honesty, he gave a severe wound to his own, who not only changed but usurped the government of his country. Macrobius Saturn. 2. 4.

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Historian, Cremutius Cordus was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death: "Thou hast done nothing, Antony; hast done nothing, I say, by setting a price on that divine and illustrious head, and by a detestable reward, procuring the death of so great a Consul and preserver of the Republic. Thou hast snatched from Cicero a troublesome being; a declining age; a life more miserable under thy dominion, than death itself; but, so far from diminishing the glory of his deeds and sayings, thou hast encreased it. He lives and will live in the memory of all ages; and as long as this system of nature, whether by chance or providence, or what way soever formed, which he alone, of all the Romans, comprehended in his mind, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall remain intire, it will draw the praises of Cicero along with it; and all posterity will admire his writings against thee, curse thy act against him — [f]."

FROM this period, all the *Roman* writers, whether Poets or Historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, the most illustrious of all their Patriots, and the parent of the *Roman wit and eloquence*; who had done more honor to his country by his writings, than all their Conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of their learning beyond those of their Empire [g]. So that their very Emperors,

[f] Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

[g] Facundiæ, latiarum-literarum parens—atque

—omnium triumphorum laurum adeptæ majorem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani ter-

rors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of *their inferior Deities* [b]: a rank, which he would have preferred to this day, if he had happened to live in *Papal Rome*, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from *the innocence of his life*, obtaining the honor and title of a *Saint* [i].

As to his person, he was tall and slender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of cheerfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect [k]. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigue of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care that he employed upon his body, consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreshment of his voice from the labor of the bar [l]: yet in the summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villa's in different parts of *Italy*. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance

terminos in tantum promovisse, quam Imperii. Plin. Hist. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. P. 2. 34.

[b] Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

[i] Quem arbitror, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc

ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro Divis honorantur. Erasmi. Ciceronian. vers. finem.

[k] Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem, prosperaque permansit valetudo. Asin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

[l] Cum recreandæ vocalis causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad Att. 2. 2. Plutar. in vit.

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ance: by these he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting [m].

IN his cloaths and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his book of *offices*, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence, and foppish delicacy [n]: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or liberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

IN his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His Letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the Senate and the Forum [o]. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves; when by

[m] Cum quidem biduum jejunos fuisset, ut ne a-
m quidem gustaram. Ep.
7. 26. vid. Plutar.

[n] Adhibenda munditia
odiosa, neque exquisita
is; tantum quæ fugiat a-
stem & inhumanam neg-
entiam. Eadem ratio est

habenda vestitus: in quo, si-
cut in plerisque rebus, medi-
ocritas optima est. De offic.
1. 36.

[o] Ut tantum requietis
habeam, quantum cum uxore,
& filiola, & mellito Ci-
cerone consumitur. Ad Att.
1. 18.

by their fidelity and services they had recommended themselves to his favor. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro; whose character was no otherwise different from the rest, than that it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his Letters to Atticus, I believe *nothing more*, says he, *to write; and my mind is indeed somewhat ruffled at present, for Sositheus my reader, is dead, a hopeful youth; which has afflicted me more than one would imagine, the death of a slave ought to do* [p].

HE entertained very high notions of friendship; and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the varieties of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even slighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance the prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend to both fortunes; but more zealous only in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but *a sordid trade and merchandize of benefits*, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss [q]. He calls gratitude *the mother of*

[p] Nam puer festivus, agnoscites noster, Sositheus decesserat, meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. 1. 12.

[q] Ubi illa sancta amicitia? si non ipse amicus per se

amatur toto pectore. [de Nat. 1. 18.] quam si ad fructum nostrum referemus, non illius commoda, quæsumus, non erit ista amicitia sed mercatura quædam officiorum suarum. De Nat. or. 1. 44.

ues; reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, *gratefull and good*, as terms synonymous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with the examples of them [r]; so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, *of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested, but claimed a right to command him* [s].

YET he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries, upon the slightest submission; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be more laudable and worthy of a great man, than *moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing*; and held *repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it*: and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, *that his*
U *enmities*

[r] Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam, nihil est quod malim, quam me & gratum esse & amari. Est enim hæc una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium—quæ potest esse judicatas vitæ sublati ami-

citiis? quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

[s] Nam quod ita consueveris pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. fam. 6. 7.

enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal [t].

HIS manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; splendid and noble: his house was open to all the learned Strangers and Philosophers of *Greece* and *Asia*; several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him [u]. His levee was perpetually crowded with multitudes of all ranks; even Pompey himself not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not onely to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the Senate or the Forum; where upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again: but on ordinary days, when these morning visits were over as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leisure [x]. His supper was his greatest meal

[t] Est enim ulciscendi & puniendi modus. Atque haud scio, an satis sit, eum, qui lacefferit, injuriæ suæ poenitere. [de off. 1. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate & clementia. [ibid. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuissem, ignoscendi quærebam causas, non puniendi occasiones. — Fragment. Cic. ex Marcellino. —

Neque vero me poenitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Post. 12.

[u] Doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra floruit & Principes illi, Diodotus Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico; qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset nuper est domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

[x] Cum bene completus domus est tempore matutino cum ad forum stipati gregibus, amicorum descendimus — ad Att. 1. 18.

and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light; and never used to *sleep again at noon*, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in *Rome* to this day [y].

BUT though he was so temperate and studious, yet when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and brightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of chearfull entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery [z]: a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary; *relieve the satiety of a tedious cause; divert the minds of the Judges*; and mitigate the rigor

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Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi salutatio defluxit litteris me involvit—Ep. fam. 9. 20. Cum citationi nos dedimus amicum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. fam. 7. 28. Post horam quartam molester ceteri non sunt. Ad Att. 14. [y] Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, & lucubrationes de nocte & meridationes addidimus quibus uti antea non solent. De Div. 2. 58.

[z] Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus —[Ep. fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus — [ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, & gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero. [ib. 26.]

of a sentence, by making both the Bench and Audience merry at the expence of the Accused [a].

THIS use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private conversations, he was charged sometime with pushing his raillery too far; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted [b]. Yet of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by Antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; such as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

IT is certain, that the fame of his wit was celebrated as that of his eloquence; and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about in *Rome* in his life-time [c]; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been Consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed

[a] — Suavis est & vehementer sæpe utilis jocus & facetiæ — multum in causis per sæpe lepore & facetiis profici vidi. De Or. 2. 54.

Quærisum judicis mendo & illos tristes solvit affectus, & animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, & aliquando etiam reficit, & a satietate vel a fatigatione re-

novat—Quintil. 1. 6. c. 3.

[b] Noster vero non solum extra judicia, sed in his etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectatorum. ibid. vid. Plutar.

[c] Ais enim, ut ego cecellerim, omnia omnia dicta—in me conferri—Efam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

[d] Lib
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[e] Aud
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to Cicero himself [d]. Cæsar likewise, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the *Apophthegms*, or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring him every thing of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company [e]. But Tiro, Cicero's freedman, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings in three books: where Quintilian however wishes, that he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them [f]. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of his jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the same judicious Critic observes, through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold then, and insipid must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and stories, to which they relate, as well as

U 3

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[d] Liber iste, quem misisti, quantum habet de rationem amoris tui? prius, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod forsasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt, narrante venustissima. — Ep. fam. 21.
[e] Audio Cæsarem, cum lumina jam confecerit ἀποφθιγμάτων, si quod afferatur

tur pro meo, quod meum non sit, rejicere solere—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Ep. fam. 9. 16.

[f] Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulisset—& plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset.—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

as the peculiar fashions, humor and taste of wit in that age? Yet even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find *what they might reject, than what they could add to them* [g].

HE had a great number of fine Houses, in different parts of *Italy*; some writers reckon up *eighteen*; which, excepting the family-seat at *Arpinum*, seem to have been all purchased, or built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between *Rome* and *Pompeii*, which was about four leagues beyond *Naples*; and for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their situation, are called by him *the eyes, or the beauties of Italy* [b]. Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his *Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum*; his *Formian, Cumæan, Puteolan and Pompeian Villa's*; all of them large enough for the reception, not onely of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests, many of whom of the first quality used to pass several days with him in their excursions from *Rome*. But besides these, that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had several *little Inns*, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accommodation in passing from one House to another [i].

[g] Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici possit, invenient. ibid. vid. etiam Macrobi. Sat. 2. 1.

[b] Quodque temporis in prædiolis nostris, & belle ædificatis, & satis amœnis con-

fumi potuit, in peregrinatione consumimus — [ad Att. 16. 3.] cur ocellos Italianæ villulas meas non viderem. ib. 6.

[i] Ego accepi in Divi foriolo Sinuessano, tuas litteras. Ad Att. 14. 8.

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HIS *Tusculan House* had been Sylla's, the Dictator; and in one of its apartments had a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marfic war, in which Cicero had served under him as a Volunteer [k]: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful Hill, covered with the Villa's of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the City, and the country around it; with plenty of water flowing thro' his grounds in a large stream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the Corporation of *Tusculum* [l]. Its neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the Senate, to breath a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family: so that this was the place in which he took the most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and for that reason improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses [m].

U 4

W H E N

[k] Idque etiam in Villa Tusculana, quæ postea sit Ciceronis, Sylla pinxit. lin. Hist. Nat. 22. 6.

[l] Ego Tusculanis pro A. Crabra vestigal pendam, ut a Municipio fundum acciperem. — Con. Rull. 3. 2.

[m] Quæ mihi antea signa habebam, — ea omnia in Tusculum deportabo. — [Ad Att. 4.]

Nos ex omnibus laboribus & molestiis uno illo in loco conqueſcimus. [ib. 5.] Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum in urbe, tum in Tusculano, cum illo venimus, conqueſcamur. ib. 6.

The situation of this *Tusculan House*, which had been built perhaps by Sylla, con-

firms what Seneca has observed of the *Villas* of all the other great Captains of Rome, Marius, Pompey, Cæsar; that they were placed always on hills, or the highest ground that they could find; it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houses so situated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a Villa — [Senec. Epist. 51.] But this delightful spot is now possessed by a Convent of Monks, called *Grotta Ferrata*, where they still shew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

WHEN a greater satiety of the City, or a longer vacation in the Forum disposed him to seek a calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to *Antium* or *Astura*. At *Antium* he placed his best collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from *Rome*, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the City. *Astura* was a little Island, at the mouth of a river of the same name, about two leagues farther towards the South, between the promontaries of *Antium* and *Circæum*, and in the view of them both; a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude, and a severe retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

IN the height of Summer, the Mansion-house at *Arpinum*, and the little Island adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats; where in the greatest, that he has ever remembered, we find him refreshing himself, as he writes to his Brother, with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his *Fiberinus* [n].

HIS other Villa's were situated in the most public parts of *Italy*, where all the best company of *Rome* had their Houses of pleasure. He had two at *Formiæ*, a lower and upper Villa, the one near to the port of *Cajeta*, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of *Baiæ*, between the *Lake Averna*

[n] Ego ex magnis caloribus non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, summa

cum amœnitate fluminis, refeci ludorum diebus. Quint. 3. 1.

us and Puteoli, which he calls his *Puteolan*; a fourth on the hills of old *Cumæ*, called his *Cumæan Villa*; and a fifth at *Pompeii*, four leagues beyond *Naples*; in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its soil, and delicacy of its fruits. His *Puteolan House* was built after the plan of the *Academy at Athens*, and called by that name; being adorned with a *Portico and a Grove*, for the same use of philosophical conferences. Some time after his death it fell into the hands of Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it; when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following Epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freed men.

*Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ
Sylva loco melius surgere iussa viret,
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.
Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ [o].*

Where

[o] Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2.
THIS Villa was afterwards the Imperial Palace; possessed by the Emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it, where he is supposed to have breathed out that last celebrated adieu to his pallid, frightened, Animula vagula, blandula, Hospes, Comesque corporis,

Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.
Ælii Spartian. Vit. Hadr. 25.

fluttering Soul [1]; which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness [2]. [2] Ubi

Where groves, once thine, now with fresh verdure bloom,

*Great Parent of the Eloquence of Rome,
And where thy Academy, favorite seat,
Now to Antistius yields its sweet retreat,
A gushing stream bursts out, of wondrous power
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd sight restore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew
Repays this honor to his memory due,
That since his works throughout the world are spread,*

*And with such eagerness by all are read,
New springs of healing quality should rise,
To ease the encrease of labor to the eyes.*

THE Furniture of his Houses was suitable to the elegance of his taste, and the magnificence of his buildings; his Galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian Masters; and his vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a *Cedar table* of his remaining in Pliny's time, said to be *the first* which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him *eighty pounds* [p]. He thought it the part of an eminent Citizen, to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendor of his life. This was

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani judicii pronunciare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere — Erasmi. Proœm. in

Tusc. Quæst. ad Joh. Ulatterum [p] Extat hodie M. Ciceronis, in illa paupertate, quod magis mirum est, in ævo emptæ H. S. X. — [Plin. Hist. N. 13. 15.] nullius autem Ciceronianam vetustior memoria est. ib. 16.

[2] Pa
nt nostri
ea sunt a

the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their situation in the most conspicuous parts of Italy, along the course of the *Appian* road; that they might occur at every stage to the observation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

THE reader perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have said of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to sustain the vast expence of building and maintaining such a number of noble houses: but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of Rome, were; first, the public Magistracies, and provincial Commands; secondly, the presents of Kings, Princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their services and protection: and tho' no man was more moderate in the use of these advantages than Cicero, yet to Pliny one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vicious pleasures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expences [q]: for in his province of *Cilicia*, after all the memorable instances of his generosity, by which he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other governors had applied to their private use, yet at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of the *Publicans in Asia* near twenty thousand pounds, reserved from the strict dues of his Government, and remitted to him afterwards at Rome

[q] Parva sunt, quæ depeditissima, modo valeamus. Ad Quint. 2. 15.
sunt nostris quidem moribus, ea sunt ad explicandum ex-

Rome [r]. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any, which brought large and frequent supplies to him, *the legacies of deceased friends*. It was the peculiar custom of Rome, for the Clients and dependents of Families, to bequeath at their death to their Patrons some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honor of Lucullus, that while he governed *Asia* as Proconsul, *many great estates were left to him by will* [s]: and Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, *that he succeeded to many inheritances of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, than of his friendly and amiable temper* [t]. Cicero had his full share of these testamentary donations; as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his Letters [u]; and when he was falsely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared in his reply, that he had gained from this single article *about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends; not the forged wills of persons unknown to him; with which he charged Antony* [x].

[r] Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H. S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.

[s] Maximas audio tibi, L. Luculle, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque beneficiis in tuos, venisse hereditates. pr. Flacc. 34.

[t] Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate est consecutus. V. Attic. 21.

[u] Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. pr. Mil. 18.

[x] Hereditates mihi nactus venire — ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli —

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice; but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the most licentious and profligate [y]. His mind was superior to all the sordid passions which engross little souls; avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing thro' the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Tho' no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit where-ever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in *Greeks* or *Romans*; and verifying a maxim which he had declared in a speech to the senate, *that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own* [z]. His sprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favor of the Ladies; whose company he used to frequent when young, and with many of whom of the first quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years, to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers,

or

nemo, nisi amicus, fecit
redem—te is, quem tu vi-
si nunquam.—Phil. 2. 16.
[y] Cum vita fuerit inte-
nec integra solum sed
am casta. Erasmi. Epist. ad

Jo. Ulatten.

[z] Declarasti verum esse
id, quod ego semper sensi,
*neminem alterius, qui suæ
confideret, virtuti invidere.*
Phil. x. 1. vid. Plutar.

or relations, who were absent from *Rome*: yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocular account of his supping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit of the first class, when the famed Courtesan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius's slave, and was then his mistress, made one of the company at table: where after several jokes on that incident, he says, *that he never suspected that she would have been of the party; and tho' he was always a lover of chearful entertainments, yet nothing of that sort had ever pleased him when young, much less now, when he was old* [a]. There was one Lady however called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, absurdly grounds some little scandal, though he owns her to have been *seventy years old*. She is frequently mentioned in Cicero's Letters, as a lover of books and philosophy; and on that account, as fond of his company and writings; but while, out of complaisance to her sex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect; yet by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that she had no share of his affections, or any real authority with him [b].

[a] Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem. Ep. fam. 9. 26.

[b] Mirifice Cærellia, studio videlicet philosophiæ flagrans, describit a tuis: istos ipsos de finibus habet — [ad

Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ cile satisfeci; nec valde borare visa est: & si ego certe non laborarem ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. Dio. 303.

HIS failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his constitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too sanguin in prosperity, too desponding in adversity; and apt to persuade himself in each fortune, *that it would never have an end* [c]. This is Pollio's account of him; which seems in general to be true: Brutus touches the first part of it in one of his letters to him; and when things were going prosperously against Antony, puts him gently in mind, *that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes* [d]: and he himself allows the second, and says, *that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst, rather than hoping the best, he was the man; and if that was a fault, confesses himself not to be free from it* [e]: yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was such, he tells us, as shewed itself rather in *foreseeing dangers, than in encountering them*: an explication, which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution [f].

BUT

[c] Utinam moderatius secundas res, & fortius adversas ferre potuisset! namque utraque cum venerant ei, putari eas non posse rebatur. fin. Poll. apud Sen. Suasor.

[d] Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihi quere merito & meo nomine & scipub. carissime, minis credere videris spei tuæ. Brut. Cic. 4.

[e] Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum: & si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. fam. 6, 14.

[f] Parum fortis videbatur quibusdam: quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in pro-

BUT the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was, the *love of glory and thirst of praise*: a passion, that he not onely avowed, but freely indulged; and sometimes, as he himself confesses, *to a degree even of vanity* [g]. This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance [b]; while the forwardness that he shewed to celebrate his own merits in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures: and since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down implicitly from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the source from which the passion itself flowed, and explaine the nature of that *glory*, of which he professes himself so fond.

TRUE glory then, according to his own definition of it, is *a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind* [i]. It is not, he says, *the empty blast of popular favour, or the applause of a giddy multitude*, which all wise men had ever despised, and none more than himself, but *the consenting praise of all best men, and the incorrupt testimony of those who*

providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam præstantissimo suscepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

[g] Nunc quoniam laudis avidissimi semper fuimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, & non ἀφιλόδοξον, bellum est enim sua vitia nosse. [ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriæ.

Ep. fam. 9. 14.

[b] Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicere de me ipso gloriosus præcare — Pro Dom. 35.

[i] Si quidem gloria illustis ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel suos, vel in patriam, vel omne genus hominum famulorum. — Pro Marcel.

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can judge of excellent merit, which resounds always to virtue, as the eccho to the voice; and since it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to this glory, were not to expect ease, or pleasure, or tranquillity of life for their pains; but must give up their own peace to secure the peace of others; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good; sustain many battels with the audacious and the wicked, and some even with the powerful: in short, must behave themselves so, as to give their citizens cause to rejoice that they had ever been born [k]. This is the notion that he inculcates every where of true glory: which is surely one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that History has to offer to us, thro' all the ages of the hea-

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X

then

[k] Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum.—Ep. fam. 15.4.

Est enim gloria—consentans laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de eccellente virtute: ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. Tusc. quæst. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quæ sola vera glo-

ria nominari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non sibi. Sudandum est his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimicitiae, subeundæ sæpe pro Repub. tempestates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, nonnunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro Sext. 66.

Carum esse civem, bene de Repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligigi, gloriosum est—quare ita gubernata Rempub. ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant: sine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quisquam esse potest. Phil. 1. 14.

then world. There is not an instance, says Cicero, of a man's exerting himself ever *with praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to posterity* [l]. Give me a boy, says Quintilian, whom *praise excites, whom glory warms*: for such a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline [m]. *Whether posterity will have any respect for me*, says Pliny, *I know not; but am sure that I have deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it* [n].

It will not seem strange, to observe the wisdom of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory as the amplest reward of a well-spent life [o]; when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those who believed a state of happiness to be the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish, than a well-grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that which seemed to be with-

[l] Neque quisquam nostrum in Reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute versatur, quin spe posteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

[m] Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu — in hoc desidium nunquam verebor. Quintil. 1. 3.

[n] — Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio. Nos certe

meremur, ut sit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim superbum; sed studio, sed labore, sed reverentia posterum. Plin. Ep.

[o] Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam. Esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur. — Plin. Mil. 35.

Cicero, in their reach, a futurity of their own creating ; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence ; and had no small comfort in imagining, that tho' the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend at least to others ; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts, as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him thro' a succession of infinite ages : nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end ; but as long as the name of *Rome* subsists, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preserve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from *his boasting so frequently of himself* in his speeches both to the Senate and the People, tho' it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings ; yet if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not onely excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of *Rome* was now brought to a crisis ; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it : Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty ; which entirely depended on the influence of his counsils : he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malice of all who were

aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the Empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the Senate and People, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counsils; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those, who were employing all arts to subvert them. *The frequent commemoration of his acts, says Quintilian, was not made so much for glory, as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindicate his measures when they were attacked* [p]: and this is what Cicero himself declared in all his speeches; “that no man ever heard him speak of himself but when he was forced to it: that when he was urged with fictitious crimes, it was his custom to answer them with his real services: and if ever he said any thing glorious of himself, it was not thro’ a fondness of praise, but to repel an accusation” [q]: that no man who had been conversant in great affairs, and treated with particular

“envy,

[p] Vigesima annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Phil. 12. x. 6. 6.

At plerumque illud quoque non sine aliqua ratione fecit. — Ut illorum, quæ egerat in Consulatu frequens commemoratio, possit videri non gloriæ magis quam defensionis data — plerumque contra inimicos atque obrectatores plus vendicat sibi; erant enim

tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

[q] Quis unquam audivit cum ego de me nisi coactus ac necessario dicerem? — dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus. nihil enim unquam de me dixi sublatius asciscendæ laudis causa potius, quam criminis depellendi — pro Domitio 35, 36.

[r] Potest
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envy, could refute the contumely of an enemy, without touching upon his own praises; and after all his labors for the common safety, if a just indignation had drawn from him at any time what might seem to be vain-glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to him [r]: that when others were silent about him, if he could not then forbear to speak of himself, that indeed would be shameful; but when he was injured, accused, exposed to popular odium, he must certainly be allowed to assert his liberty, if they would not suffer him to retain his dignity [s].” This then was the true state of the case, as it is evident from the facts of his history: he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of praise: he was pleased, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more still with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a passion, which for the reasons already hinted, had always the greatest force on the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our contempt and indignation, to see every conceited, arrogant, and trifling declaimer, who know little of Cicero’s real character, and less still of their own, presuming to call him *the vainest of mortals*.

X 3

BUT

[r] Potest quisquam vir in
magnis cum invidia
satus, satis graviter contra
mici contumeliam, sine
laude respondere?—
Quamquam si me tantis la-
dibus pro communi salute
functum efferret aliquando
gloriam in refutandis ma-
litis improborum homi-
animi quidam dolor, quis

non ignosceret?—de Haruf.
resp. 8.

[s] Si, cum cæteri de no-
bis silent, non etiam nosmet
ipsi tacemus, grave. Sed si
lædimur, si accusamur, si in
invidiam vocamur, profecto
concedetis, ut nobis liberta-
tem retinere liceat, si minus
liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll.
29.

BUT there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or satisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the surprizing extent of his knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even lessens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the Senator; and by considering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greatest Magistrate also of *Rome*. We learn our *Latin* from him at school; our stile and sentiments at the College: here the generality take their leave of him, and seldom think of him more, but as of an Orator, a Moralist, or Philosopher of Antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on its proportion and relation to the rest; while in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, considered separately, will appear admirable; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first Statesman of a mighty Empire: his abilities as a Statesman are glorious; yet surprise us still more, when they are observed in the ablest Scholar and Philosopher of his age: but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature [1].

[1] Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud

nescio quid præclarum ac regulare solere existere. Arch. 7.

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tus scient
componere
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mus Eup

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; in *Oratory, Poetry, Philosophy, Law, History, Criticism, Politics, Ethics*; in each of which he equalled the greatest masters of his time; in some of them excelled all men of all times [*u*]. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published; and tho' many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity; and like *the Sibylline books*, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the secret by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to *the public shows, to pleasures, to feasts, nay, even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature*, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge [*x*]. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no

X 4

other

[*u*] M. Cicero in libro, qui scriptus est de Jure civili in partem redigendo, verba hæc posuit—[A. Gell. i. 22.] M. Tullius non modo inter amicum nunquam est destitutus scientia juris, sed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. [Quintil. 12. 3] At Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa

plurium artium species præstantem, sed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. Ib. c. x.

[*x*] Quantum cæteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, & ipsam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tribuunt

other time for meditating, but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his Scribes, who attended him [y]. We find many of his letters dated before *day-light*; some from the Senate; others from his meals, and the croud of his morning levee [z].

No compositions afford more pleasure than the *Epistles* of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The Letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds; but there never was a collection that excell'd so much in every kind as Cicero's, for the purity of stile, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concern'd in them. We have about a thousand still remaining, all written after he was forty years old; which are but a small part, not onely of what he wrote, but of what were actually published after his death by his servant Tiro. For we see many volumes of them quoted by the Ancients, which are

buunt tempestivis conviviis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi ego met ad hæc studia recolenda sumfero—pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te solere orationes, cum otiosus sis, has ego scripsi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam essem otiosus. Pro Planc. 27.

[y] Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. [Ad Quint. 3. 3.] Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, & cum recreandæ vocolæ

causa mihi necesse esset ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad. Att. 2. 23.

[z] Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.] Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi nescio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, somno repetito, simul cum sole experrectus essem.—Ad Att. 13. 38. Hæc ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa. [ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. Ad Brut. 1. 2. 4.

[a] S
his Lette
his work
[b] M
nulla est
bet Tiro
Ad Att.
[c] C

are utterly lost ; as *the first book* of his Letters to Licinius Calvus ; *the first* also to Q. Axius ; a *second book* to his son ; a *second* also to Corn. Nepos ; a *third book* to J. Cæsar ; a *third* to Octavius ; and a *third* also to Panfa ; an *eighth book* to M. Brutus ; and a *ninth* to A. Hirtius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæsar and Brutus, we have nothing more left than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old Critics and Grammarians [a]. What makes these Letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them ; for the year before his death, when Atticus was making some inquiry about them, he sent him word, *that he had made no collection ; and that Tiro had preserved onely about seventy* [b]. Here then we may expect to see the genuin man, without disguise or affectation ; especially in his letters to Atticus, to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself ; opened the rise and progress of each thought ; and never enter'd into any affair without his particular advice : so that these may be considered *as the memoirs of his times* ; containing the most authentic materials for the History of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it [c] : and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers on these times so superficial, as well as erroneous ; while they chuse to transcribe

[a] See the fragments of his Letters in the Editions of his works.

[b] Mearum Epistolarum nulla est συζωγη. Sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Ad Att. 16. 5.

[c] Quæ qui legat non

multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum ; sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 16.

scribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later *Greek Historians*, rather than take the pains to extract the original account of facts from one who was a principal actor in them.

IN his familiar Letters he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from *common use and the language of conversation* [d]. Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the subject, and throwing out *what came uppermost*; nor disdaining even a pun, when it served to make his friends laugh [e]. In Letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason, with the utmost delicacy both of sentiment and diction, yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets, which modern custom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falsely stamped with the name of politeness; though they are the real offspring of barbarism, and the effect of our degeneracy both in taste and manners. In his political Letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things: he always touches the point on which the affair turns; foresees the danger, and foretels the mischief; which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counsils; of which there were so many instances, that, as an eminent writer of his own time observ'd of him, *his prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every* thing

[d] Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. fam. 9. 21.

[e] Quicquid in buccam venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching Antony for

publishing one of his Letters to him, *How many jests, says he, are often found in private Letters, which, if made public, might be thought foolish and impertinent?* Phil. 2. 4.

bing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a Prophet [f]. But none of his Letters do him more credit than those of the *recommenda-* tory kind: the others shew his wit and his parts, these his benevolence and his probity: he solicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and force of words, of which he was master; and alledges generally some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honor was concerned in the success of it [g].

BUT

[f] Ut facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

[g] An objection may possibly be made to my character of these letters, from a certain passage in one of them, addressed to a *Proconsul of Afric*, wherein he intimates, that there was a *private mark* agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his Letters, would signify, what real stress he himself laid upon them, and what degree of influence he desired them to have with his friend. [Ep. fam. 13. 6.] But that seems to relate only to the particular case of one man, who having great affairs in *Afric*, was likely to be particularly troublesome both to Cicero and the *Proconsul*; whose general concerns however he recommends in that Letter with the utmost warmth and affe-

ction. But if he had used the same method with all the other *Proconsuls* and foreign Commanders, it seems not only reasonable, but necessary, that a man of his character and authority, whose favor was perpetually solicited by persons of all ranks, should make some distinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own sake, and those, whose recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others: which was frequently the case, as he himself declares in these very Letters. *Your regard for me*, says he, *is so publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations to you. But though I give them sometimes to men of no consequence, yet for the most part, it is to my real friends.* Again, *Our friendship, and your affection to me is so illustrious, that I am under a necessity of recommending many people to You: but though it is my duty to wish well to all, whom I recommend;*

BUT his Letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the onely monuments of that sort, which remain to us from *free Rome*. They breath the last words of expiring liberty; a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of it's ruin, to rouse up all the virtue, that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defense of their country. The advantage, which they derive from this circumstance, will easily be observed by comparing them with the Epistles of the best and greatest, who florished afterwards in *Imperial Rome*. Pliny's Letters are justly admired by men of taste: they shew the scholar, the wit, the fine Gentleman: yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explained; no account of the motives of public counsils: he had born all the same offices with Cicero, whom in all points he affected to emulate [b]; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a superior power, and administered by a superior will; and with the old titles of Consul and Proconsul, we want still the Statesman, the Politician and the Magistrate. In his Provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with a supreme authority, and had Kings attendant on his orders; Pliny durst not venture to *repair a Bath; or punish a fugitive slave; or incorporate a company of Masons*; till he had first

commend; yet I do not live upon the same foot of friendship with them all, &c. Ep. fam. 13. 70, 71.

[b] Lætaris, quod honoribus ejus insistam, quem æmulari in studiis cupio. Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

consulted and obtained the leave of Trajan [i].

His Historical works are all lost : *the Commentaries of his Consulship in Greek ; the History of his own affairs*, to his return from exile, *in Latin verse ; and his Anecdotes* ; as well as the pieces, that he published on *Natural History* ; of which Pliny quotes one, upon *the wonders of Nature* ; and another on *perfumes* [k]. He was meditating likewise a general *History of Rome*, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the onely man capable of adding that glory also to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the *Romans* [l]. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task ; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best, that can be formed, for the design of a perfect History.

“ He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of History, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, or fear to say
“ any

[i] Prusenses, Domine, alneum habent & sordidum vetus, id itaque indulgentia restituere desiderant. Ep. x. 34.

Quorum ego supplicium tuli, ut te conditorem disciplinae militaris, firmatorem, consulerem de modo senæ. Ib. 38.

Tu, Domine, despice anstituendum putes collegium abrorum, duntaxat hominum cl. ib. 42.

[k] Cicero in Admirandis, &c. Plin. Hist. N.

31. 2. Quod Admirandis suis inseruit M. Cicero. ibid. c. 4. In monumentis M. Ciceronis invenitur ; Unguenta gratiora esse, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum sapiant. Hist. N. 13. 3. 17. 5.

[l] Postulatur a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius Historia : sic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici posse, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—abest enim historia litteris nostris—de Leg. 1. 2, 3.

“ any thing that was true ; nor give any just
 “ suspicion either of favor or disaffection : that
 “ in the relation of things, the writer should
 “ observe the order of time, and add also
 “ the description of places : that in all great
 “ and memorable transactions, he should first
 “ exp lane the counsils, then the acts, lastly
 “ the events : that in the counsils, he should
 “ interpose his own judgement on the merit of
 “ them : in the acts, should relate not onely
 “ what was done, but how it was done : in the
 “ events, should shew, what share chance or
 “ rashness or prudence had in them : that in re-
 “ gard to persons, he should describe, not
 “ onely their particular actions, but the lives
 “ and characters of all those, who bear an im-
 “ portant part in the story : that he should il-
 “ lustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural style
 “ flowing with a perpetual smoothness, and e-
 “ quability ; free from the affectation of point-
 “ and sentences, or the roughness of judicious
 “ pleadings [m].”

We have no remains likewise of his Poetry
 except some fragments occasionally interspersed
 through his other writings ; yet these, as we
 have before observed, are sufficient to convince
 us, that his *poetical genius*, if it had been cul-
 tivated with the same care, would not have been
 inferior to his *Oratorical*. The two arts are
 nearly allied, that an excellency in the one seems
 to imply a capacity for the other ; the same qua-
 lities being essential to them both ; a sprightly
 fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous
 diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the coar-
 rusticity of the Latin muse first began to be per-
 ceived.

justified by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the succeeding generation, as it left no room for a *mediocrity in Poetry*, so it quite eclipsed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a Poet, as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as one at all; especially in the Courts of Antony and Augustus; where it was a compliment to the Sovereign, and a fashion consequently among their flatterers [*n*], to make his character ridiculous, where-ever it lay open to them: hence followed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his famous verses;

*Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.
O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam.*

two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among *the most eminent of the Roman Poets*; and Pliny the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character [*o*]; and Quintilian seems to charge the cavils of his censurers to a *principle of malignity* [*p*]. But his own verses are the surest proof of their merit; being written

[*o*] Postea vero quam Trimalchi proscriptione con-
scriptus est, passim qui ode-
bantur, qui invidabant, qui æ-
mabantur, adulatorum etiam
potentia, non re-
fugum invaserunt. Quin.

[*o*] Sed ego verear, ne me
non satis deceat, quod decu-
it M. Tullium — Ep. 1. 5.
3.

[*p*] In carminibus utinam
pepercisset, quæ non desie-
runt carpere maligni. Quint.
xi. 1.

The HISTORY of the Life

written in the best manner of that age, in which he lived, and in the style of Lucretius; whose Poem he is said to have *revised and corrected*, at its publication, after Lucretius's death [q]. It is however certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated Poets of his time [r]; of Accius; Archias; Chiriacus; Lucretius; Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for some favor, that he had received from him.

*Tully, most eloquent by far
Of all, who have been or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the Sons of Rome,
To Thee Catullus gratefull sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other Poets be, as Thou
All other Patrons dost excell,
In power of words and speaking well [s].*

BUT Poetry was the amusement onely, the relief of his other studies: *Eloquence* was his distinguishing

[q] Euseb. Chronic.

[r] Adjicis M. Tullium mira benignitate Poetarum ingenia fovisse. Plin. Ep. 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio Poeta audire sum solitus. [Brut. 197.] Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2. xi. Vid. ad Att. 1. 9, 16.

[s] Disertissime Romuli nepotum,

Quot sunt, quotque Marce Tulli,
Quotque post aliis erant annis;
Gratias tibi maximas tullus
Agit, pessimus omnium poeta,
Tanto pessimus omnium poeta
Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.
Catullus

stinguishing talent, his sovereign attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his soul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed: so that as a polite Historian observes, *Rome had but few Orators before him, whom it could praise; none whom it could admire* [t]. Demosthenes was the pattern, by which he formed himself; whom he emulated with such success, as to merit, what *St. Jerom* calls *that beautifull elege; Demosthenes has snatch- ed from thee the glory of being the first; thou from Demosthenes, that of being the onely Orator* [u]. The genius, the capacity, the stile and manner of them both were much the same; their elo- quence of that great, sublime and comprehen- sive kind, which dignified every subject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that *roundness of speaking*, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be ad- ded or retrenched: their perfections were in all points so transcendent, and yet so similar, that the Critics are not agreed on which side to give the preference: Quintilian indeed, the most ju- dicious of them, has given it on the whole to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it, *the thunder of Demosthenes*; he

VOL. III. Y excelled

[t] At oratio—ita univer-
sub principe operis sui eru-
it Tullio; ut delectari ante
um paucissimis, mirari ve-
neminem possis — Vell.
at. 1. 17.

[u] Demosthenem igitur
ntemur. O Dii boni! quid
asi nos aliud agimus, aut

quid aliud optamus? — Brut.
417.

M. Tullius, in quem pul-
cherrimum illud elogium est;
Demosthenes tibi præripuit,
ne esses primus Orator; tu
illi, ne solus. Ad Nepotian.
de vita Clericor. Tom. 4.
Edit. Bened.—

excelled him in the copiousness and elegance of his diction, the variety of his sentiments; and above all, *in the vivacity of his wit, and smartness of his raillery*: Demosthenes had nothing *jocose or facetious* in him; yet by attempting sometimes to jest, shewed, *that the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong to him*: for as Longinus says, *whenever he affected to be pleasant, he made himself ridiculous; and if he happened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon himself*. Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to please, when he found himself unable to convince; and could put his Judges into good humor, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity; so that *by the opportunity of a well-timed joke, he is said to have preserved many of his Clients from manifest ruin* [x].

YET in all this heighth and fame of his eloquence, there was another set of Orators at the same time in Rome; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality; who, while they acknowledged the superiority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truly *Attic or classical*; some calling it *loose and languid*; others *tumid and exuberant* [y]. These men affected

a minute

[x] Huic diversa virtus, quæ risum judicis movendo — plerique Demostheni facultatem hujus rei defuisse credunt, Ciceroni modum — nec videri potest noluisse Demosthenes, cujus pauca admodum dicta — ostendunt non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse — mihi vero — mira quædam videtur in Cicerone fuisse urbanitas — [Quintil.

l. 6. 3. ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. Flacco, quem repetundarum reum joci oportunitate de manifestissimis criminibus exempt — &c. Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

[y] Constat nec Ciceroni quidem obrectatores defuisse quibus inflatus & tumens, ne satis pressus, supra modum exultans, & superfluens, &

a minute and fastidious correctness; *pointed sentences, short and concise periods*, without a syllable to spare in them; as if the perfection of Oratory consisted in a *frugality of words*, and in crowding our sentiments into the narrowest compass [z]. The chief Patrons of this taste were, M. Brutus, Licinius Calvus, Asinius Pollio, and Sallust; whom Seneca seems to treat, as the author of *the obscure, abrupt, and sententious stile* [a]. Cicero often ridicules these pretenders to *Attic elegance*; as judging of eloquence, *not by the force of the art, but their own weakness*; and resolving to decry what they could not attain; and to admire nothing, but what they could imitate [b]: and though their way of speaking, he says, might please *the ear of a critic or a scholar*, yet it was not of that *sublime and sonorous kind*, whose end was not onely *to instruct, but to move* an audience: an eloquence, born for the multitude; whose merit was always shewn by its effects, of *exciting admiration, and exhorting shouts of applause*; and on which there never was any difference of judgment between the *learned and the populace* [c].

Y 2

THIS

arum Atticus videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

[z] Mihi falli multum videntur, qui solos esse Atticos credunt, tenues & lucidos & significantes, sed quam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum semper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

[a] Sic Sallustio vigente, reputatæ sententiæ, & veritate ante expectatum cadentia, obscura brevitæ, fuere pro-

cultu. L. Sen. Epist. 114.

[b] Itaque nobis monendi sunt ii,—qui aut dici se desiderant Atticos, aut ipsi Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur Demosthenem maxime —eloquentiamque ipsius viribus, non imbecillitate sua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. Orator. 248. vid. Tusc. Quæst. 2. 1.

[c] Sed ad Calvum revertamur: qui—metuens ne vitiosum

THIS was the genuin eloquence, that prevailed in *Rome* as long as Cicero lived: his were the onely speeches that were relished or admired by the City; while those *Attic* orators, as they called themselves, were generally despised and frequently *deserted by the audience* in the midst of their harangues [d]. But after Cicero's death and the ruin of the Republic, the *Roman* oratory sunk of course with it's liberty, and a false species universally prevailed: when instead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every subject, there succeeded a guarded, dry, sententious kind; full of labored turns and studied points; and proper onely for the occasion on which it was employed; the making panegyrics, and servile compliments to their Tyrants. This change of stile may be observed in all their writers from Cicero's time, to the younger Pliny; who carried it to its utmost perfection in his celebrated *Panegyric* on the Emperor Trajan: which, as it is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of sentiments, and the delicacy of it's compliments, so is become in a manner the standard of fine speaking to modern times: where it is common to hear the pretenders to Criticism descanting on the tedious length and spiritless exuberance of the *Ciceronian* periods.

But

tiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis & attente audientibus erat illustris; a multitudine autem & a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque nunquam de bono

Oratore & non bono doctis hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit—&c. ibid. 297.

[d] At cum isti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

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[e]—
id conse
non hon
nomen
x. 1.
[f]
tonis in
quod est
cætus e
bere so
nomen
1. 4.

But the superiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politest age of *free Rome*; so it has received the most authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent sense of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: so that, as Quintilian declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that Cicero is not reckoned so much *the name of a man, as of eloquence itself* [e].

BUT we have hitherto been considering chiefly the exterior part of Cicero's character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that Philosophy, which he professed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from *the Academic sect*; which deriv'd its origin from Socrates, and it's name from a celebrated *Gymnasium*, or place of exercise in the suburbs of *Athens*, called *the Academy*; where the professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations [f].

Y 3

Socrates

[e]—Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Quintil.

x. 1.

[f] Illi autem, qui Platonis instituto in Academia, quod est alterum gymnasium, cœtus erant & sermones habere soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. Academ.

l. 4.

N. B. This celebrated place, which Serv. Sulpicius calls, *the noblest Gymnasium of the world*, took it's name from one Ecademus, an ancient Hero, who possessed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about *one hundred pounds*, and dedicated to the public.

for

Socrates was the first who banished *Physics* out of *Philosophy*, which till his time had been the sole object of it; and drew it off from the obscure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man; concerning the true notions of *virtue and vice*, and the *natural difference of good and ill* [g]: and as he found the world generally prepossessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was, *not to assert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others*, and attack the errors in vogue; as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the nearest to it, probability [b]. While he himself therefore professed to *know nothing*, he used to sift out the several doctrines of all the pretenders to science; and then teize them with a series of questions so contrived, as to reduce them,

for the convenience of walks and exercises for the Citizens of *Athens*; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately portico's, and commodious apartments, for the particular use of the Professors or Masters of the Academic School; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the City. Ep. fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theseo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. §. 7. Plutar. de Exil. 603.

[g] Socrates — id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis—avocavisse philosophiam & ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreretur, &c. ibid. vid. it. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4.

[b] E quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur; ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errores alios levaremus; & in omni disputatione, quid esset summum veri quæreremus. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

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them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defending what they had at first affirmed [i].

BUT Plato did not strictly adhere to the method of his master Socrates; and his followers wholly deserted it: for instead of the *Socratic* modesty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned *Philosophy*, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their sect [k]. Plato's Nephew, Speusippus, who was left the heir of his school, continued his lectures, as his successors also did, in the *Academy*, and preserv'd the name of *Academics*; whilst Aristotle, the most eminent of Plato's scholars, retired to another *Gymnasium*, called the *Lyceum*; where from a custom which he and his followers observed, of teaching and disputing as they walked in the Portico's of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking Philosophers. These two sects, tho' differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in virtue, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments [l].

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[i] Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere solebat opiniones eorum, quibuscum diserebat — de Fin. 2. 1.

[k] Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, & nulla adfirmatione adhibita consuetudinem differendi reliquerunt. Ita facta est, quod minime So-

crates probabat, ars quædam Philosophiæ, & rerum ordo & descriptio disciplinæ — Academ. 1. 4.

[l] Sed idem fons erat utrique, & eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Acad. 1. 4, 6, 8] Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

THIS was the state of the Academic school under five successive masters, who governed it after Plato; Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arcefilas the sixth discarded at once all the systems of his Predecessors, and reviv'd the *Socratic way, of affirming nothing, doubting of all things*, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions [m]. He alledged the necessity of making this reformation, from *that obscurity of things*, which had reduced Socrates, and all the Ancients before him, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all likewise done, *that the senses were narrow, reason infirm, life short, truth immersed in the deep, opinion and custom every where predominant; and all things involved in darkness* [n]. He taught therefore, "That there was no certain know-
 " ledge or perception of any thing in nature;
 " nor any infallible criterion of truth and false-
 " hood; that nothing was so detestable as rash-
 " ness; nothing so scandalous to a Philosopher,
 " as to profess, what was either false or un-
 " known to him; that we ought to assert no-
 " thing dogmatically; but in all cases to sus-
 " pend our assent; and instead of pretending
 " to certainty, content ourselves with opinion,
 " grounded on probability; which was all that

[m] Arcefilas primum, ex variis Platonis libris, sermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi, quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit—de Orat. 3. 18.

[n] Non pertinacia sed earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorantiaæ adduxerant Socratem, &—omnes pæne veteres; qui ni-

hil cognosci, nihil percipi nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus & institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt. Acad. 1. 13.

"a rational mind had to acquiesce in." This was called *the New Academy*, in distinction from *the Platonic*, or *the Old*: which maintained its credit down to Cicero's time, by a succession of able Masters; the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth from Arcefilas; who carried it to its utmost height of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence [o]

WE must not however imagine, that these *Academics* continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting [p]: no; their rule was as certain and consistent as that of any other sect; as it is frequently explained by Cicero in many parts of his works. "We are not of that sort, says he, whose mind is perpetually wandering in error, without any particular end or object of its pursuit: for what would such a mind, or such a life indeed be worth, which had no determinate rule or method of thinking and acting? But the difference between us and the rest is, that whereas they call some things *certain*, and others *uncertain*; we call the one *probable*, the other *improbable*."

ble.

[o] Hanc Academiam non appellant; — quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcefila fuit, in Academ Arcefilæ ratione pertransiit. — [Academ. 1. 13.] Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcefila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram vi-

guit ætatem. [de Nat. Deor. 1. 5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades — De Orat. 3. 18.

[p] Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque disse- runt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. 1. 12. 1.

“ ble. For what reason then should not I pur-
 “ sue *the probable*, reject the contrary, and de-
 “ clining the arrogance of affirming, avoid the
 “ imputation of rashness ; which of all things
 “ is the farthest removed from wisdom [q] ?
 “ Again ; we do not pretend to say, that there
 “ is no such thing as truth ; but that all truths
 “ have some falshoods annexed to them, of so
 “ near a resemblance and similitude, as to af-
 “ ford no certain note of distinction, whereby
 “ to determine our judgement and assent :
 “ whence it follows also of course, that there
 “ are many things *probable* ; which, tho’ not
 “ perfectly comprehended, yet on account of
 “ their attractive and specious appearance, are
 “ sufficient to govern the life of a wise man [r].
 “ In another place, there is no difference, says
 “ he, between us and those who pretend to know
 “ things ; but that they never doubt of the
 “ truth of what they maintain ; whereas we
 “ have many *Probabilities*, which we readily
 “ embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we
 “ preserve our judgement free and unprejudi-
 “ ced, and are under no necessity of defending
 “ what is prescribed and enjoined to us : where-
 “ as in the other sects, men are tied down to cer-
 “ tain doctrines, before they are capable of
 “ judging what is the best ; and in the most
 “ infirm part of life, drawn either by the au-
 “ thority of a friend, or charmed with the first
 “ master whom they happen to hear, they form
 “ a judgement of things unknown to them-
 “ selves, and to whatever school they chance to be di-
 “ versed by the tide, cleave to it as fast as the
 “ Oyster to the rock [s].”

[q] De Offic. 2. 2.

[r] De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

[s] Academ. 2. 3.

T H U
 N. B. THIS sketch of the
 principles of the Academy
 may enable us to decide the
 famous

THUS the Academy held the proper medium between the rigor of the Stoic and the indifference of the Sceptic: the Stoics embraced all their doctrines, as so many *fix'd and immutable truths*, from which it was infamous to depart; and by making this their point of honor, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The Sceptics on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, *that it was this or that*, since there was *as much reason to take it for the one as for the other*, or for *neither of them*; and wholly indifferent which of them

famous contest among the Critics, about the reading of the following passage in Cicero's treatise *on the nature of the Gods*. [l. i. i.] *De qua tam variæ sunt doctissimorum hominum, tamque discrepantes sententiæ, ut magno argumento esse debeat, causam, id est, principium philosophiæ esse, scientiam; [Inscientiam:] prudenterque Academici a rebus incertis assensionem præbuisse.* The question is, whether we should read *scientiam*, or *inscientiam*: the greatest part of the editions and MSS give us the first; but Aldus Manutius and Dr. Davies prefer the second; which I take to be the true reading. For Cicero's meaning in this place is, from the dissensions of the learned on a subject of so great importance, to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his sect, *that the natural obscurity of things, and man's consciousness*

of his ignorance was the first cause or incitement to the study of Philosophy. Plato had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he says, *that to wonder at things was the common affection of a Philosopher, and what alone gave rise, or a beginning to Philosophy itself*: [in *Theætet.* p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence Cicero draws this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the Academy therefore acted prudently, in *with-holding it's assent*, and maintaining, that there was no such thing as *Science, or absolute certainty* within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be, it necessarily requires *inscientiam* to make it consistent. — See the translation of L'Abbe D'Olivet, and his notes on the place, and Edit. Davis. Cantab.

them we thought it to be: thus they lived without ever engaging themselves on any side of a question; directing their lives in the meantime by natural affections, and the laws and customs of their country [t]. But the *Academici* by adopting *the probable* instead of *the certain* kept the balance in an equal poise between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to observe a moderation in all their opinions; and, as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to the old maxim;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; *ne quid nimis* [u].

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical Philosophy in general, so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preference to the rest: which universal concession of the second place is commonly thought to infer a right to the first [x]: and we reflect on the state of the Heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of the darkness that surrounded them, and *the infinite dissensions* of the best and wisest on the fundamental questions of religion and morality [y], we must necessarily allow, that the *Academic* manner of philosophizing was of all others the most rational and modest, and the best adapted

[t] Vid. Sext. Empirici, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. A. Gell. xi. 5.

[u]—μέλλων εἰς πάντα, πρὸς μὴσεν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ἀκαδημία φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων; εἰπον. in lib. de Ei apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

[x] Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sectarum

—secundæ partes dantur—quo potest probabiliter con- ci, eum recte primum e suo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio sit secundus. Fragment. Academ. Augustin.

[y] De Nat. Deor. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1. 13.

to the discovery of truth : whose peculiar character it was, to encourage inquiry ; to sift every question to the bottom ; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight [z]. This it was that induced Cicero, in his advanced life and ripened judgement, to desert *the old Academy*, and declare for *the new* ; when from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and through a despair of finding *any thing certain*, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with the *probable* [a]. But the genius and general character of *both the Academies* was in some measure still the same : for *the old*, tho' it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming ; and *the new* onely the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two : this appears from the writings of Plato, the first master of the old ; in which, as Cicero observes, *nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain*, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed [b]. Yet there was another reason that recommended

[z] Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud avertunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem differendo, eliciant & quicquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad quicquam proxime accedat. *Academ.* 2. 3.

[a] Relictam a te, inquit, tractari autem non poteram jam, tractari autem non poteram—[ib. 4.] Ultra enim non progrediar, quam ut verum similia videam, non habeo : et dicent hi, qui & percipi non posse dicunt, & se sapien-

tes profitentur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmitus, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orator. fin.

[b] Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. *Academ.* 1. 13.

mended this Philosophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero ; its being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an Orator : since by its practice of disputing *for and against* every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the best opportunity of perfecting his oratorical faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it therefore *the parent of elegance and copiousness* ; and declares, *that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the Rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy* [c].

THIS school however was almost deserted in Greece, and had but few disciples at Rome, where Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavoured to revive its drooping credit. The reason is obvious : it imposed a hard task upon its scholars of disputing against every sect, and on every question in Philosophy ; and *if it was difficult as Cicero says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all ?* which was incumbent on those who professed themselves *Academics* [d.] No wonder then that it lost ground every where, in

proportion

[c] Itaque mihi semper Academicæ consuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes differendi, non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re verisimile sit inveniri, sed etiam quod esset ea maxima dicendi exercitatio——[Tusc. Quæst. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor ; me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academicæ spatiiis extitisse. [Orator.

sub. init.] Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Proem. Paradox.

[d] Quam nunc propter modum orbam esse in Graecia intelligo—nam si singulas disciplinas percipere magnus est, quanto majus omnem quod facere iis necesse est, quibus propositum est, veluti reperiendi causa, & contra omnes philosophos, & per omnes dicere. — De Naturis Deorum. 1. 5.

proportion as ease and luxury prevailed; which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of *Epicurus*; in relation to which, there is a smart saying recorded of *Arcefilas*; who being asked, *why so many of all sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them*, replied, *that men might be made Eunuchs, but Eunuchs could never become men again* [e].

THIS general view of Cicero's Philosophy, will help us to account in some measure, for that difficulty which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments; as well as for the mistakes which they are apt to fall into in that search: since it was the distinguishing principle of the *Academy*, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for Cicero was not scrupulous on that head, nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explaine them: but it is the variety and different character of his several

[e] Diog. Laert. de Arce-
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DIOGENES LAERTIUS, some later writers, speak of a third or middle *Academy* between the Old and the New, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make *Plato* the founder of the old; *Arcefilas* the middle; *Carneades* of the New. [See Stanley's *Philosophy* in *Carneades* of *Philosophy*.] But there was no real difference for such a distinction, since Cicero never mentions any other, but the old the new; and expressly declares the last to have sub-

sisted under that denomination, down to his own days, as well under *Carneades*, as *Arcefilas*: and so far from splitting them into three *Academies*, Cicero's master *Philo* maintained constantly in his books, that there never was in reality any more than one; grounding his argument on what I have observed above; the similar nature and genius of the two. Acad. 1. 4. *Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, banc ab Arcefila & Carneade recentem, exoremus ut fileat.* De Leg. 1. 13.

veral writings that perplexes the generality of his readers: for where-ever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indifferently as such, whether from *his Orations, his Dialogues, or his Letters*, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different person that he assumes in it.

HIS orations are generally of the judicial kind; or the pleadings of an Advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause, and to deliver, not so much what was true, as what was useful to his Client; the patronage of truth belonging in such cases to the Judge, and not to the pleader [*f*]. It would be absurd therefore to require a scrupulous veracity, or strict declaration of his sentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it; and he himself forbids us to expect it; and in one of those orations frankly declares the true nature of them all —

“ that man, says he, is much mistaken, who
 “ thinks, that in these judicial pleadings, he
 “ has an authentic specimen of our opinions
 “ they are the speeches of the causes and the
 “ times; not of the men, or the advocates:
 “ the causes could speak for themselves, if
 “ body would employ an orator; but we are
 “ employed to speak, not what we would un-
 “ dertake to affirm upon our authority, but
 “ what is suggested by the cause and the thing

“ it is

[*f*] Judicis est semper in causis verum sequi; Patroni, nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere: quod scribere, præ-

sertim cum de Philosopho scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Senatorum Panætio. De Oratoribus 2. 14.

itself [g].” Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, “that those who are truly wise, and have spent their time in public affairs, and not in idle disputes, tho’ they have resolved with themselves to be strictly honest in all their actions, yet will not scruple to use every argument, that can be of service to the cause, which they have undertaken to defend [b].” In his orations therefore, where we often meet with the sentences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his speech [i].

HIS Letters indeed to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart: yet in these some distinction must necessarily be observed; for in Letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is soliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occasion; and uses such as would induce his friend the most readily to grant what he desired. But as his Letters in general seldom touch upon any questions of philosophy, except lightly and incidentally, so they will afford ve-

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[g] Sed errat vehementer, quis in orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignasse habere, arbitratur. Pro Cluent. 50.

[b] Quintil. l. xi. 1.

[i] Though his Orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be alledged for the

truth of facts: especially those, which were spoken to the Senate or the People; where he refers to the acts and characters of persons then living, before an audience, that was generally as well acquainted with them as himself; and it is in such cases chiefly, that I lay any great stress upon them.

ry little help to us in the discovery of his *philosophical opinions*, which are the subject of the present inquiry, and for which we must wholly recur to his philosophical works.

Now the general purpose of these works was, to give a *history rather of the ancient philosophy*, than any account of his own; and to explain to his fellow Citizens in their own language, whatever the philosophers of all sects, and in all ages had taught on every important question, in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way [k]. This he declares in his treatise called *de Finibus*, or on the chief good or ill of man; in that upon the Nature of the Gods; in his *Tusculan Disputations*; and in his book on the *Academic Philosophy*: in all which he sometimes takes upon himself the part of a *Stoic*; sometimes of an *Epicurean*; sometimes of the *Peripatetic*; for the sake of explaining with more authority the different doctrine of each sect: and as he assumes the person of the one, to confute the other, so in his proper character of an *Academic*, he sometimes disputes against them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicerero still for the perpetual speaker; and under

[k] Nam cum otio langueremus, & is esset Reipub. status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi; magni existimans inter-

esse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Acad. 1. 1. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 1. De Finibus 1. 3, 4.

that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him onely in order to be confuted. But in these dialogues, as in all his other works, where-ever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgement upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an *Academic*, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he himself does not appear in the scene, he takes care usually to inform us, to which of the characters he has assigned the patronage of his own sentiments; who was generally the principal speaker of the Dialogue; as Crassus, in his treatise *on the Orator*; Scipio, in that on *the Republic*; Cato, in his piece on *old age*. This key will let us into his real thoughts; and enable us to trace his genuine notions through every part of his writings; from which I shall now procede to give a short abstract of them.

As to *Physics*, or natural philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and making it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life [1]. For tho' he was perfectly acquainted with the various systems of all the Philosophers of any name, from the earliest antiquity, and has explained them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any distinct opinions of his own, or at least to declare them. From his account however of those systems we may observe, that several

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[1] Ut enim modo dixi, sit, citius, quam quid sit; in rebus fere in rebus, & dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Acad. 2. 39.

veral of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first Philosophers, of whom we have any notice in History; as *the motion of the earth; the Antipodes; a Vacuum; and an universal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter*; which holds the world in its present form and order [m].

BUT in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man, *the Being of a God; a Providence; the immortality of the soul; the future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and ill*; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained, that there was one God, or supreme Being; incorporeal, eternal, self-existent; who created the world by his power, and sustained it by his providence. This he inferred from the consent of all nations; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies; the evident marks of counsel, wisdom, and a fitness to certain ends, observable in the whole, and in every part of the visible world; and declares that person unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance; when with the utmost stretch of human wisdom we cannot penetrate the depths of that wisdom which contrived it. [n].

[m] De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Acad. 2. 38, 39.

[n] Nec Deus ipse—alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam & libera, segregata ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & movens, ipsaque præ-

dicta motu sempiterno. [T. Quæst. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes, una lex & sempiterna & immortalis continebitur, nusque erit quasi Magister Imperator omnium Deum. Fragm. lib. 3. de Republica. Ut porro firmissimum ad-

HE believed also a *divine Providence* constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending its care to all the principal members of it; with a peculiar attention to the conduct and actions of men; but leaving the minute and inferior parts to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; his omniscience, omnipresence, and infinite goodness; that could never desert or neglect what he had once produced into being: and declares, that without this belief there could be no such thing as piety or religion in the world [o].

HE held likewise the immortality of the soul, and its separate existence after death in a state of happiness or misery. This he inferred from that ardent thirst of immortality, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most ex-

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adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, —cujus mentem non imbuierit Deorum opinio—omni autem in re consentio omnium gentium lex naturæ putandæ est —[Tusc. quæst. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur & alia innumerabilia cum cernimus; possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, (si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet) moderator tanti operis & auctoris. [ib. 28.] Id istum, quod inter omnes, nisi modum impios, convenit, ut hi quidem ex animo exuri non possent, esse Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Esse præstantem, æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam, admirandamque hominum

generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit confiteri. [de Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

[2.] De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum universum atque maximas ejus partes administrari—[de Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ sunt ei subjectæ, quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœlestia maxime, deinde in terris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. vid. Nat. Deor. 1, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

alted minds; from which the truest specimen of their nature must needs be drawn: from its *unmix'd and indivisible essence*; which had nothing separable or perishable in it; from its wonderful powers and faculties; its *principle of self-motion*; its *memory, invention, wit, comprehension*; which were all incompatible with sluggish matter [p].

THE Stoics fancied that the Soul was a *sublimized, fiery substance*, which survived the body after death, and subsisted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to perish at last in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero says, *the onely thing that was hard to conceive, its separate existence from the body*; yet denied what was not onely easy to imagine, but a consequence of the other, *its eternal duration* [q]. Aristotle taught, that besides the four elements of the material world, whence all other things were supposed to draw their being, there was a fifth essence or nature, peculiar to God and the Soul

which

[p] Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas, quin specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura?—[Tusc. quæst. 1. 14.] Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: cumque semper agitur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tusc. Quæst.

1. 23, 25, 26, &c. de Amicis 4.

[q] Zenoni Stoico animi ignis videtur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Stoici autem usque nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuri aiunt animos, semper negant—qui, quod in tota huius causa difficillimum est, sustinent, posse animum manere corpore vacante: illi autem, quod non modo factum ad credendum est, sed, concessio quod volunt, consequens idcirco, non dant ut cum diu permanerit intereat. Ib. 1. 31, 32.

which had nothing in it that was common to any of the rest [r]. This opinion Cicero followed, and illustrated with his usual perspicuity in the following passage.

“THE origin of the human soul, says he, is not to be found any where on earth; there is nothing mix’d, concrete, or earthly; nothing of water, air, or fire in it. For these natures are not susceptible of memory, intelligence, or thought; have nothing that can retain the past, foresee the future, lay hold on the present; which faculties are purely divine, and could not possibly be derived to man, except from God. The nature of the soul therefore is of a singular kind; distinct from these known and obvious natures: and whatever it be that feels and tastes, that lives and moves in us, it must be heavenly and divine, and for that reason eternal. Nor is God indeed himself, whose existence we clearly discover, to be comprehended by us in any other manner, but as a free and pure mind, clear from all mortal concretion; observing and moving all things; and indued with an eternal principle of self-motion: of this kind, and of the same nature, is the human soul [s].”

As to a future state of rewards and punishments, he considered it as a consequence of the soul’s immortality; deducible from the attributes of God, and the condition of man’s life on earth; and thought it so highly probable, that he could hardly doubt of it, he says, unless it could happen to our minds, when they look into themselves, as it does to our eyes, when they look

Z 4

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[r] Ib. x.

[s] Ib. 27.

too intensely at the sun, that finding their sight dazzled, they give over looking at all [t]. In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato, for whose judgement he professes so great a reverence, that if they had given no reasons, where yet they had given many, he should have been persuaded, he says, by their sole authority [u]. Socrates therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying speech, “ that there were two ways appointed to human souls at their departure
 “ from the body : that those who had been immersed in sensual pleasures and lusts, and had polluted themselves with private vices or public crimes against their country, took an obscure and devious road, remote from the seat and assembly of the Gods ; whilst those who had preserved their integrity, and received little or no contagion from the body from which they had constantly abstracted themselves, and in the bodies of men imitated the life of the Gods, had an easy access lying open before them to those Gods, from whom they derived their being [x].

FROM what has already been said, the reader will easily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning *the Religion of his Country* for a mind enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship and the liberty, which not onely he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters

[t] Nec vero de hoc quicquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his sæpe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem so-

lem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent, &c. T. Quæst. 1. 30.

[u] Ib. 21. de Amicitia.

[x] Ib. 30.

their Gods, and the fictions of their *infernal torments* [y], shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution; singularly adapted to the genius of *Rome*; and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good Citizens [z].

THEIR

[y] Dic, quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocytj fremitus? transvectio Acherontis? — adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam? — [ib. 5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? De Nat. Deor. 2.

[z] Ordinar ab Haruspiciis, quam ego Reipub. causa, communisque religionis, commendam censeo. [De Divin. 12.] Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris cæremoniis que retinendis sapientis est. p. 72. De Leg. 2. 12, 13. — N. B. There is a reflection on Polybius, exactly conformable to Cicero's sentiments on this subject. The greatest Advantage, says he, which the Roman Government seems to have over other states, is in the opinion publicly entertained by them about the Gods; and that very thing, which is so generally cried by other mortals, su-

stained the Republic of Rome; I mean, Superstition. For this was carried by them to such a height, and introduced so effectually both into the private lives of the Citizens, and the public affairs of the City, that one cannot help being surprized at it. But I take it all to have been contrived for the sake of the populace. For if a society could be formed of wise men only, such a scheme would not be necessary: but since the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit desires, wild resentments; violent passions; there was no way left of restraining them, but by the help of such secret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not therefore, without great prudence and foresight, that the ancients took care to instill into them these notions of the Gods and infernal punishments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now rashly and absurdly endeavouring to extirpate. Polyb. 1. 6. p. 497.

THEIR Religion consisted of two principal branches; *the observation of the Auspices, and the worship of the Gods*: the first was instituted by Romulus; the second by his successor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several Deities: to these a third part was afterwards added; relating to *divine admonitions from portents; monstrous births; the entrails of beasts in sacrifice; and the prophecies of the Sibyls* [a]. The College of Augurs presided over the *Auspices*, as the *supreme interpreters of the will of Jove*; and determined what signs were propitious, and what not: *the other Priests* were the Judges of all the other cases relating to Religion; as well of what concerned the public worship, as that of private families [b].

NOW the Priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the Augurs especially were commonly Senators of Consular rank, who had passed thro' all the dignities of the Republic, and by their power over the *Auspices*, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve at once all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of *the Sibyl's prophecies* was vested in the *Decemviri*, or guardians of *the Sibylline books*; ten persons of distinguished rank chosen

usually

[a] Cum omnis Populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auspicia divisa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis & monstris Sibyllæ interpretes, Haruspicesve monuerunt. De Nat. Deor. 3, 2.

[b] — Cur Sacris Pontifi-

ces, cur auspiciis Augures præsumunt? [ib. 1. 44.] Est autem boni Auguris, meminisse maximis Reipub. temporibus præsto esse debere, Jovique optimo maximo se consiliarium atque administrum datum—de Leg. 3. 19

usually from the Priests: and the province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to the *Haruspices*; who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the Magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelihood.

THIS constitution of a Religion among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the Senate, and the better sort; who by this advantage frequently check'd the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the Tribunes [c]: so that it is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the Republic; tho' considered all the while by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The only part that admitted any dispute concerning its origin, was *Augury*, or their method of divining by *Auspices*. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted on the nature of things *certain marks or notices of future events*; as on the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other celestial signs, which, by long observation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each sign might be determined, and applied to the event that was signified by it. This they called *artificial Divination*, in distinction from the *natural*; which they supposed to flow

[c] Omnibus Magistratibus auspicia—dantur, ut multo inutiles comitiatus, prohibiles impedirent moræ: sæpe enim populi impetum injustum auspiciis Dii immortales represserunt. De Leg. 3. 12.

flow from an *instinct*, or native power, implanted in the Soul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as in dreams and madness [d]. But this notion was generally ridicul'd by the other Philosophers; and of all the College of Augurs, there was but one at the time who maintained it, Appius Claudius; who was laugh'd at for his pains by the rest, and called the *Pisidian* [e]: it occasion'd however a smart controversy between him and his Collegue Marcellus, who severally published books on each side of the question; wherein Marcellus asserted the whole affair to be the contrivance of Statesmen; Appius on the contrary, that there was a real art and power of divining, subsisting in the Augural discipline, and taught by the Augural books [f]. Appius dedicated this treatise to Cicero [g]: who, tho' he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, that Augury might probably be instituted at first upon a persuasion of its divinity

[d] Duo sunt enim divinationis genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturæ — est enim vis & natura quædam, quæ cum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu, inflatuque divino futura prænunciat. — De Div. 1. 6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

[e] Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum Augurum esse dicebant. ib. 47.

THE *Pisidians* were a barbarous people of the lesser *Asia*; famous for their super-

stitious observation of the *auspices*, or their divination by the flight of birds. De Div. 1. 41, 42.

[f] Sed est in Collegio veltro inter Marcellum & Appium, optimos Augures, magna dissensio: — cum alteri placeat, auspicia ista ad utilitatem Reipub. componenda; alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare prorsus potest videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

[g] Illo libro Auguralium quem ad me amantissimum scripsit, suavissimum miscuit. Ep. fam. 3. 4.

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ty; and when, by the improvement of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing itself was wisely retained for the sake of its use to the Republic [b].

BUT whatever was the origin of the Religion of Rome, Cicero's Religion was undoubtedly of heavenly extraction; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a God; a Providence; an immortality. He considered this short period of our life on earth as a state of trial, or a kind of school; in which we were to improve and prepare ourselves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter: that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not so much to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens; on which were imprinted in legible characters all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He observed, that this spectacle belonged to no other Animal but man; to whom God, for that reason, had given an erect and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed on high and sublime, in a situation the most proper for this celestial contemplation; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he sprung, and for which he was finally designed [i]. He took the

[b] Non enim sumus ii
os Augures, qui avium, re-
quorumque signorum obser-
vatione futura dicamus: et
amen credo Romulum, qui
urbem auspiciato condidit,
habuisse opinionem, esse in
providendis rebus augurandi
scientiam. Errabat multis in
rebus Antiquitas, &c. De
Divin. 2. 33.

[i] Sed credo Deos spar-
fisse animos in corpora hu-
mana, ut essent qui terras
tuerentur, quique cœlestium
ordinem contemplantes, imi-
tarentur eum vitæ modo &
constantia, &c. [Cato. 21.]
Nam cum cæteras animantes
abjecisset ad pastum, solum
hominem crexit, ad cœlique
quasi

the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be *the promulgation of God's law*, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; *till by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do*, and, by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed how to perfect our own; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

FROM this source he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation; from *the will of God, manifested in his works*; or from that *eternal reason, fitness, and relation of things*, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the *original, immutable law*; the *criterion of good and ill*; of *just and unjust*; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are to be formed; which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he says, to be called any thing rather than *laws*; and are in effect nothing but *acts of force, violence, and tyranny*: that to imagine the distinction of good and ill not to be founded in nature, but in custom, opinion, or human institution, is mere folly and madness; which would overthrow all society, and confound all right and justice amongst men [k]: that this was the constant

quasi cognationis, domicilique pristini conspectum excitavit. [de Leg. 1. 9.] Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, sed est quædam particula perfecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14, 56.

[k] Sed etiam modestiam quandam cognitio rerum celestium adfert iis, qui vident, quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; & magnitudinem animi Deorum opera & facta continentibus; justitiam etiam cum cognitum habeas, quid sit

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opinion of the wisest of all ages ; who held, *that the mind of God, governing all things by eternal reason, was the principal and sovereign law ; whose substitute on earth was the reason or mind of the wise* : to which purpose there are many strong and beautiful passages scattered occasionally thro' every part of his works [1].

“ THE true law, says he, is right reason, conformable to the nature of things ; constant, eternal, diffused thro' all ; which calls us to duty by commanding, deters us from sin by forbidding ; which never loses its influence with the good ; nor ever preserves it with the wicked. This cannot possibly be over-ruled by any other law ; nor abrogated in the whole or in part : nor can we be absolved from it either by the Senate or the people : nor are we to seek any other comment
“ or

summi Reſtoris & Domini
umen, quod conſilium, quæ
oluntas ; cujus ad naturam
pta ratio vera illa & ſumma
a Philoſophis dicitur. —
de Fin. 4. 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala,
ulla alia niſi naturæ norma
videre poſſumus. Nec ſo-
m jus & injuria natura di-
dicantur, ſed omnino om-
a honeſta ac turpia ; nam
communis intelligentia
obis notas res efficit, eaſque
animis noſtris inchoat, ut
honeſta in virtute ponantur,
vitiis turpia. Ea autem
opinione exiſtimare, non
natura poſita, dementis
[De Leg. 1. 16.] Erat
im ratio proſecta a rerum
natura ; & ad recte faciendum

impellens, & a delicto avo-
cans ; quæ non tum demum
incipit lex eſſe, cum ſcripta
eſt, ſed tum, cum orta eſt :
orta autem ſimul eſt cum
mente divina : quamobrem
lex vera, atque princeps,
apta ad jubendum & ad ve-
tandum, recta eſt ratio ſum-
mi Jovis, &c. De Leg. 2. 4.
5, &c.

[1] Hanc igitur video ſa-
pientiſſimorum fuiſſe ſenten-
tiam, legem neque hominum
ingeniis excogitatam, nec
Scitum aliquod eſſe populo-
rum, ſed æternum quiddam,
quod univerſum mundum
regeret, imperandi, prohi-
bendique ſapientia, &c. ib.
&c.

“ or interpreter of it, but itself : nor can there
 “ be one law at *Rome*, another at *Athens* ; or
 “ now, another hereafter ; but the same eter-
 “ nal, immutable law, comprehends all nations
 “ at all times, under one common Master and
 “ Governor of all, God. He is the inventor
 “ propounder, enactor of this law : and who-
 “ soever will not obey it, must first renounce
 “ himself, and throw off the nature of man : be-
 “ doing which, he will suffer the greatest pun-
 “ ishment, tho’ he should escape all the other
 “ torments, which are commonly believed to
 “ be prepared for the wicked [*m*].”

IN another place he tells us, that the study
 of this law was the onely thing which could teach
 us that most important of all lessons, said to be
 prescribed by *the Pythian Oracle*, to know our-
selves ; that is, to know our true nature and
 rank in the universal system ; the relation that
 we bear to all other beings ; and the purpose
 for which we were sent into the world. “ When
 “ a man, says he, has attentively surveyed the
 “ heavens, the earth, the sea, and all things
 “ them ; observed whence they sprung, and
 “ whither they all tend ; when and how they
 “ are to end ; what part is mortal and perish-
 “ able, what divine and eternal : when he has
 “ almost reach’d and touch’d, as it were, the
 “ governor and ruler of them all, and dis-
 “ covered himself not to be confined to the walls
 “ of any certain place, but a citizen of the
 “ world, as of one common City ; in this man-
 “ nificent view of things ; in this enlarged per-
 “ spect and knowledge of nature ; good God
 “ how will he learn *to know himself* ? How will

[*m*] Fragment. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

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[*n*] De Legib.
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he contemn, despise, and set at nought all those things, which the vulgar esteem the most splendid and glorious [n]?"

THESE were the principles on which Cicero built his religion and morality, which shine indeed thro' all his writings, but were largely and explicitly illustrated by him in his treatises on Government, and on Laws; to which he added afterwards his book of Offices, to make the scheme complete: Volumes, which, as the elder Pliny says to the Emperor Titus, ought not only to be read; but to be got by heart [o].

The first and greatest of these works is lost, excepting a few fragments; in which he had delivered his real thoughts so professedly, that in a letter to Atticus, he calls *those six books on the republic, so many pledges given to his country*, for the integrity of his life; from which, if ever he swerved, he could never have the face to look to them again [p]. In his *book of laws*, he pursued the same argument, and deduced the origin of law from *the will of the supreme God*. These two pieces therefore contain his belief, and the *book of Offices* his practice: where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life conformable to the divine principles, which he had established in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole system [q]. This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he

VOL. III.

A a

addressed

[n] De Legib. 1. 23.

[o] Quæ volumina ejus excelsa non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, nosti. præf. ad Hist. Nat.

[p] Præsertim cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus, me-

ipsum obstrinxerim; quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo.

[ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero? ibid. 2.

[q] Offic. 3. 5, 6, 17.

addressed it; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explaine to him the maxims by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of passing thro' the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happiness: where the strictness of his morals, adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practice of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by *St. Paul*, to be taught *by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles*, to guide them thro' that state of ignorance and darkness, of which they themselves complained, till they should be blessed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will: and this scheme of it professed by *Cicero*, was certainly the most complete that the *Gentile* world had ever been acquainted with; the utmost effort that human nature could make towards attaining its proper end; or that supreme good for which the Creator had designed it: upon the contemplation of which sublime truths, as delivered by a *Heathen*, *Erasmus* could not help persuading himself, *that the breast from which they flowed must needs have been inspired by the Deity* [r].

BUT after all these glorious sentiments that we have been ascribing to *Cicero*, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them as the flourish rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason; since

[r] Quid aliis accidat nescio; me legentem sic afficere solet *M. Tullius*; præsertim ubi de bene vivendo differit, ut dubitare non possim, quin

illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occupavit. *Erasm. Ep. ad Job. Ulattenum.*

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mus, sed eti
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s; illa grav
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im dum ex
cum omni
si non ero,
rebo. [ib. 6
am vocer
non ab e
a carendum
esertim cu
su futurun
a ratio vid
merit, ferre

in other parts of his works he seems to intimate not onely a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; and especially in his Letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness [5]. But in all the passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of death as the end of all things to man, as they are addressed to friends in distress by way of consolation, so some Commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death is the end of all things here below,

A a 2

and

[5] Sæpissime & legi & audivi, nihil mali esse in morte; in qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda est: sin aut amissus, nulla videri materia debeat, quæ non sentitur. [Ep. fam. 5. 16.] Ut hoc saltem in maximis malis non consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debemus, sed etiam optare. [Ib. 6. 3.] Sed hæc consolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: nec enim dum ero, angar ulla cum omni vacem culpa; si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. [ib. 6. 3.] Deinde—nam vocer ad exitum vitam, non ab ea Rep. avellar, sed carendum esse doleam, desertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit. [ib. 4.] Quia ratio videtur, quicquid meritis, ferre moderate, præ-

sertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum. [ib. 21.] Sed de illa—fors viderit, aut si quis est, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B. By this illustration of Cicero's moral principles we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently prescribes, of following Nature, as the sure and unerring guide of life: [De Legib. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amic. 5.] by which he means that law or will of God, displayed in the nature of things; not, as some are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly passions, which are falsely called natural; being the motions onely of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit not of nature; the gratification of which, as he tells us, is more contrary to nature, and consequently more to be avoided, than poverty, pain, or even death itself. [Offic. 3. 5, 6.]

and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, to an utter extinction of our being; it must be observed, that he was writing in all probability to *Epicureans* [t], and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering such topics of comfort to them from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should seem precarious, we must remember always, that *Cicero was an Academic*; and tho' he believed a future state, was fond of the opinion, and declares himself resolved never to part with it; yet he believed it as *probable* onely, not as *certain* [u]: and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also some variety in the stability of our persuasion: thus in a melancholical hour, when his spirits were depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humored his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alledged were all of this kind, written in the

[t] THIS will appear to be a very probable supposition, when we recollect, that the generality of the *Roman Nobility*, and of *Cicero's* friends were of the *Epicurean sect*; and particularly the family of *Torquatus*, to whom two of these very Letters are addressed.—Accurate quondam a *L. Torquato*, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est *Epicuri* sententia de voluptate, a meque ei responsum. De Fin. 1. 5.

[u] Quod si in hoc error quod animos hominum mortales esse credam, luberius ter erro. Nec mihi habere errorem, quo delector, de vivo, extorqueri volo. Cic. 23. Geram tibi morem ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi tuius *Apollo*, certa ut fixa quæ dixero: sed ut munculus unus e multis, habilia conjectura sequi. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.

season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the heighth of Cæsar's power; and tho' we allow them to have all the force that they can possibly bear, and to express what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more, than that, agreeably to the character and principles of *the Academy*, he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reasonable to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not considering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question [*].

As to his political conduct, no man was ever more determined patriot, or a warmer lover

A a 3 of

[*] FROM this general view of Cicero's religion, we cannot help observing, that the most exalted state of human reason is so far from superseding the use, that it demonstrates the benefit of a *reve explicit revelation*; for though the *natural law*, in its perfection, to which it was carried by Cicero, might serve for a sufficient guide to those few, such as himself, of enlarged minds and happy dispositions, yet it had been long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that was not discoverable even to those few, without great pains and study; and could produce in them at last nothing more than a hope, or a full persuasion:

whilst the greatest part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquisitive, lived *without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity*; and the multitude in every country was left to the gross idolatry of the popular worship. When we reflect on all this, we must needs see abundant reason to be thankful to God, *for the divine light of his Gospel; which has revealed at last to babes, what was hidden from the wise*; and without the pains of searching, or danger of mistaking, has given us not only the hope, but the assurance of happiness; and made us not only the believers, but *the heirs of immortality*.

of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true interest inseparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the same; to support the peace and liberty of the Republic in that form and constitution of it, which their ancestors had delivered down to them [y]. He look'd upon that as the only foundation on which it could be supported; and used to quote a verse of old Ennius, as the dictate of an Oracle, which derived all the glory of *Rome* from an adherence to its ancient manners and discipline.

Moribus antiquis stat Res Romana virisque [z].

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, *that as the end of a Pilot is a prosperous voyage; of a Physician, the health of his patient; of a General, victory; so that of a statesman is, to make his Citizens happy; to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, splendid in glory, eminent in virtue: which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men* [a] and as this cannot be effected, but by the concord and harmony of the constituent members of a City [b]; so it was his constant aim to unite

[y] Sic tibi, mi Pæte, persuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvis liberique sint. Ep. fam. 1. 24.

[z] Quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub. l. 5.

[a] Ut gubernatori cum suis secundus — sic huic moderatori Reip. beata civium vita proposita est, &c. vid. ibid. —

[b] Quæ harmonia a Musicis dicitur in cantu, ea in civitate concordia, artificum finum atque optimum omnium in Repub. vinculum incolomitatatis, &c. ibid. l. 2.

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the different orders of the state into one common interest, and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other; so as to balance the supremacy of the people, by the authority of the Senate; that the one *should enact*, but the other *advise*; the one have *the last resort*, the other *the chief influence* [c]. This was the old constitution of *Rome*, by which it had raised itself to all it's grandor; whilst all it's misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle, of distrust and dissension between these two rival powers: it was the great object therefore of his policy, to throw *the ascendant in all affairs into the hands of the Senate and the Magistrates*, as far as it was consistent with the rights and liberties of the people: which will always be the general view of the wise and honest in all popular governments.

THIS was the principle, which he espoused from the beginning, and pursued to the end of his life: and though in some passages of his history, he may be thought perhaps to have deviated from it, yet upon an impartial review of the case, we shall find, that his end was always the same, though he had changed his measures of pursuing it; when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an over-ruling force, and necessary regard to his own safety: so that he might say with great truth, what an *Athenian* orator once said, in excuse of his inconstancy; *that he had acted indeed on some occasions contrary*

A a 4

to

[c] Nam—si Senatus do-
minus sit publici consilii—
fit, ex temperatione juris,
potestas in populo, au-

toritas in Senatu fit, teneri
ille moderatus & concors ci-
vilitatis status. De Leg. 3. 12.
it. ib. 17.

to himself, but never to the Republic [d]: and here also his *Academic philosophy* seems to have shewed it's superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life; by indulging that liberty of acting, which nature and reason require; and when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the same end.

THE three sects, which at this time chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of Rome, were the *Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic*; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus and Cicero; who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of these three will shew by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

THE Stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stript of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill cock without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that no wise man could ever forgive; never be moved by anger, favor, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind [e]. With these principles

[d] Plut. de Demade. in vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. Par.

[e] Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cu-

jusquam delicto ignoscere; neminem misericordem esse nisi stultum; viri non esse neque exorari, neque placari; omnia peccata esse par-

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[f] Dicitur
in Platonis

principles Cato entered into public life; and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus [f]. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the Republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power, not built upon the laws; or to defy it at least, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on; and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force; whilst the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin, which he was striving to avert [g]: so that after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his Philosophy to put an end to his life.

BUT

nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei poenitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro Muræn. 29.
[f] Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non

tanquam in Romuli face, sententiam. Ad Att. 2. 1. p. 178.

[g] Pompeium & Cæsarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, nisi ut alterum demereretur, [Cato] simul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

BUT as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low; as those raised it to the Heroic, these debased it to the brutal state: they held *pleasure to be the chief good of man; death the extinction of his being*; and placed their happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life: esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleasure; and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wise man therefore had no other duty, but to provide for his own ease; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate *the life of their Gods*; by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose; in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme, that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society; great parts, learning, judgement, candor, benevolence, generosity; *the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero* [b]; whom he was always advising and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself; or never at least so far, as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony; that he might secure against all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquility of his life.

Thus

[b] In Repub. ita est ver- retur; neque tamen se civili-
fatus, ut semper optimarum bus fluctibus comitteret.—
partium & esset, & existima- Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

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[i] Nunqu-
antibus in
anda viris la-
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compellati ob-
etiam si portu-
queas: cum
mutata velifi-
cultum est e-

Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, resolving never to act at all.

CICERO chose the middle way between the obstinacy of Cato, and the indolence of Atticus: he preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that seemed likely to bring him to the same end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He oft compares *the Statesman to the Pilot*; whose art consists, in *managing every turn of the winds*, and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage; so as *by changing his course, and enlarging his circuit of sailing, to arrive with safety, though later, at his destined port* [i]. He mentions likewise an observation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that *none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever chose to obtain their ends from the people, till they had first been repulsed by the Senate* [k]. This was

[i] Nunquam enim præstantibus in Repub. gubernanda viris laudata est in uia sententia perpetua permanens: sed ut in navigando impetiti obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non queas: cum vero id possis, tantata velificatione assequi, cultum est eum tenere cur-

sum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

[k] Neminem unquam est hic ordo amplexus honoribus & beneficiis suis, qui ullam dignitatem præstabiliorem ea, quam per vos esset adeptus, putarit.

was verified by all their civil diffensions, from *the Gracchi*, down to *Cæsar*; so that when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government; who, by the splendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an ascendant over the populace; it was his constant advice to the Senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclame them from desperate counsils. He declared *contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did service, or at least no hurt*; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but *to extract some good out of the ill*, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state [l]. This was what he advised, and what he practised: and it will account in a great measure for those parts of his conduct, which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaisance, which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the several usurpers of illegal power.

He made a just distinction, between *bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn* [m]; and submitted therefore

putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit esse princeps, qui maluerit esse popularis. De Provin. Consular. 16. it. Phil. 5. 18.

[l] Sed contentio tamdiu sapiens est, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut si non proficit, non obest civitati: volumus quædam, contendimus, experti sumus, non obtenta sunt. Pro Corn. Bal-

bo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus docti accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere; sed etiam excerpere ex his ipsis si quid inesset boni. De Off. 1. 1.

[m] Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, & probare si quid probandum non est. Ep. fam. 9. 6.

yet never when he it always very keen whenever at liberty out contro vince, and ods of his himself; genuin ci great Ma see the m truth, in witness of the greates his power bourd a t If we mu Cato, as t that if Ca ory, Cice the one w one draw the other always un ways bene To co ent, cann proper en been rend preservati ne not on

[m] Præscientia susto me de R

from yet never consented to those usurpations ; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without controul, as in his *Consulship*, in his *Province*, and after Cæsar's death ; the onely periods of his life, in which he was truly Master of himself ; there we see him shining out in his genuine character, of an excellent Citizen ; a great Magistrate ; a glorious Patriot : there we see the man, who could declare of himself with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, *that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power ; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was divine* [m]. If we must needs compare him therefore with Cato, as some writers affect to do ; it is certain, that if Cato's virtue seem more splendid in theory, Cicero's will be found superior in practice : the one was romantic, the other rational ; the one drawn from the refinements of the schools, the other from nature and social life ; the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful ; the other always beneficial, often salutary to the Republic. To conclude ; Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely ; but was the proper end of such a life ; which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed its preservation to Antony. It was therefore what we not onely expected, but in the circumstances, to

[m] Præclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruisse optime cum potuerim ; aut certe nunquam nisi divine cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

to which he was reduced, what he seems even to have wished [n]. For he, who before had been *timid in dangers, and desponding in distress*, yet from the time of Cæsar's death, roused by *the desperate state of the Republic* [o], assumed the fortitude of a Hero; discarded all fear, despised all danger; and when he could not free his country from a Tyranny, provoked the Tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus like a great Actor on the Stage, he reserved himself as it were for the last act; and after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

THE character of his Son Marcus has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light: for he is represented generally, both by the Ancients and Moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy [p] yet when we come to inquire into the real state of the fact, we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

IN his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his Father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius ; was modest, tractable, dutiful, diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises ; so that in the *Pbarfalic* war, at the age

[n] Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo sum, ut si in hac cura atque administratione, viſa mihi ponenda ſit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. fam. 9. 24.

[o] Sed plane animus, qui
dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit

infirmior, desperatis, confu-
matus est multum. Ep. fam.
5. 21.

[p] CICERONEM filium
quæ res Consulem fecit, nisi
pater? Senec de Benef. 4.
30. Nam virtutes omnes ab
rant; Stupor & vitia ade
rant. Lipsii Not. ad locum.

[q] Quo in
impeius alæ
let, magnan
mmo viro,
nfequebare,
lando, omni
re tolerando
[r] Plutar.

seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier [q]. Not long after Pompey's death he was sent to Athens, to spend a few years in the study of Philosophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the most celebrated Philosopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured the freedom of Rome [r]. Here indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expence, that made his Father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, his Master of Rhetoric; a lover of wine and pleasure; whom Cicero for that reason expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus: so that his Father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his allowance, which seems to have been about seven hundred pounds per annum [s].

FROM this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit Athens, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and in terms so particular and explicit, that

[q] Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfuit, magnam laudem & a summo viro, & ab exercitu consequere, equitando, jactando, omni militari labore tolerando.—Offic. 2. 13. [r] Plutar. in vit. Cicer.

[s] — Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti, ulli ut neque severius, neque temperatius scribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. it. ib. 16. 1, 15. Plutar. in Cic.

that they could not procede from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering Cicero; as he often signifies with pleasure to Atticus [t]. Thus Trebonius, as he was passing into *Asia*, writes to him from *Athens*; “I came hither on the
 “twenty-first of *May*, where I saw your son,
 “and saw him, to my great joy, pursuing every
 “thing that was good, and in the highest credit
 “for the modesty of his behaviour — do
 “not imagine, my Cicero, that I say this to
 “flatter you: for nothing can be more beloved
 “than your young man is by all who are at
 “*Athens*; nor more studious of all those arts
 “which you yourself delight in; that is, the
 “best. I congratulate with you therefore very
 “heartily, which I can do with great truth,
 “and not less also with myself; that he, whom
 “we were obliged to love, of what temper so-
 “ever he had happened to be, proves to be
 “such an one as we should chuse to love [u].”

BUT the Son's own Letters gave the most solid comfort to his Father; as they were written not onely with great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, *that they were fit, he says, to be read to a learned audience; and tho' in other points he might possibly be deceived, yet in these he saw a real improvement both of his tast and learning* [x]. None of these let-

[t] Cæteri præclara scribunt. Leonidas tamen retinet illud suum *adhuc*, summis vero laudibus Herodes—
 [Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratissimum, quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala. ib. 17.

[u] Ep. Fam. 12. 16. vid. it. 14.

[x] A Cicerone mihi Lit-

teræ fane *πινωδῶναι*, & bene longæ. Cætera autem vel fingi possunt: *πινωδῶναι* literarum significat doctiorem ipsius litteræ sic & *φιλοσοφῶναι*, & *εὐπινῶναι* scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgendum puto. ib. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

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ters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but *two Letters to Tiro*; one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at Athens, when he was about *nineteen* years old.

CICERO the Son to TIRO.

"While I was expecting every day with impatience your messengers from *Rome*, they came at last on the forty-sixth day after they left you. Their arrival was extremely agreeable to me: for my Father's most indulgent and affectionate letter gave me an exceeding joy; which was still highly increased by the receipt also of yours: so that instead of being sorry for my late omission of writing, I was rather pleased that my silence had afforded me so particular a proof of your humanity. It is a great pleasure therefore to me, that you accepted my excuse so readily. I do not doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the reports which are now brought of me give you a real satisfaction. It shall be my care and endeavour that this growing fame of me shall every day come more and more confirmed to you: and since you promise to be the Trumpeter of my praises, you may venture to do it with assurance: for the past errors of my youth have mortified me so sensibly, that my mind does not only abhor the facts themselves, but my ears cannot even endure the mention of them. I am perfectly assured, that in all this regret and solicitude you have born no small share with me: nor

The HISTORY of the Life

" is it to be wonder'd at; for tho' you wish
 " me all success for my sake, you are engaged
 " also to do it for your own: since it was al-
 " ways my resolution to make you the partner
 " of every good that may befall me. As I have
 " before therefore been the occasion of sorrow
 " to you, so it shall now be my business to
 " double your joy on my account. You must
 " know that I live in the utmost intimacy with
 " Cratippus; and like a Son, rather than a
 " Scholar: for I not only hear his lectures
 " with pleasure, but am infinitely delighted
 " with his conversation. I spend whole days
 " with him, and frequently also a part of the
 " night: for I prevail with him, as often as I
 " can, to sup with me; and in our familiar
 " chat, as we sit at table, the night steals upon
 " us without thinking of it, whilst he lays
 " aside the severity of his philosophy, and jokes
 " amongst us with all the good humor imagi-
 " nable. Contrive therefore to come to us as
 " soon as possible, and see this agreeable and
 " excellent man. For what need I tell you of
 " Bruttius? whom I never part with out of
 " my sight. His life is regular and exemplary
 " and his company the most entertaining: he
 " has the art of introducing questions of litera-
 " ture into conversation, and seasoning philo-
 " sophy with mirth. I have hired a lodging
 " for him in the next house to me; and sup-
 " port his poverty, as well as I am able, out
 " of my narrow income. I have begun also to
 " declaim in Greek under Cassius; but choose
 " to exercise myself in Latin with Bruttius.
 " live likewise in great familiarity, and the
 " perpetual company of those, whom Crati-
 " pus brought with him from *Mitylene*; wh-

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are men of learning, and highly esteem'd by him. Epicrates also, the leading man at Athens, and Leonidas, spend much of their time with me; and many others of the same rank. This is the manner of my life at present. As to what you write about Gorgias, he was useful to me indeed in my daily exercise of declaiming; but I gave up all considerations for the sake of obeying my father; who wrote peremptorily that I should dismiss him instantly. I complied therefore without hesitation; lest by shewing any reluctance, I might raise in him some suspicion of me. Besides, I reflected, that it would seem indecent in me to deliberate upon the judgement of a father. Your zeal however and advice upon it are very agreeable to me. I admit your excuse of want of leisure, for I know how much your time is commonly taken up. I am mightily pleased with your purchase of a farm, and heartily wish you joy of it. Do not wonder at my congratulating you in this part of my letter, for it was the same part of yours, in which you informed me of the purchase. You have now a place, where you may drop all the forms of the City, and are become a *Roman* of the old rustic stamp. I please myself with placing your figure before my eyes, and imagining that I see you bartering for your country wares, or consulting with your bailiff, or carrying off from your table, in a corner of your vest, the seeds of your fruits and melons for your garden. But to be serious; I am as much concerned as you are, that I happened to be out of the way, and could not assist you on that occasion: but depend upon it, my Tiro, I will

“ make you easy one time or other, if fortune
 “ does not disappoint me: especially since I
 “ know that you have bought this farm for the
 “ common use of us both. I am obliged to you
 “ for your care in executing my orders; but
 “ beg of you, that a *Librarian* may be sent to
 “ me in all haste, and especially a *Greek* one:
 “ for I waste much of my time in transcribing
 “ the lectures and books that are of use to me.
 “ Above all things, take care of your health,
 “ that we may live to hold many learned con-
 “ ferences together. I recommend Antherus to
 “ you. Adieu [y].

THIS was the situation of young Cicero
 when Brutus arrived at *Athens*: who, as it has
 been already said, was exceedingly taken with
 his virtue and good principles; of which he
 sent a high encomium to his Father; and en-
 trusted him, tho’ but *twenty years* old, with a
 principal command in his army: in which he
 acquitted himself with a singular reputation both
 of courage and conduct; and in several expe-
 ditions and encounters with the enemy, where
 he commanded in chief, always came off victo-
 rious. After the battel of Philippi, and the death
 of Brutus, he escaped to Pompey; who had tak-
 en possession of *Sicily* with a great army, and
 fleet superior to any in the Empire. This was
 the last refuge of the poor Republicans: where
 young Cicero was received again with particu-
 lar honors; and continued fighting still in the
 defence of his country’s liberty; till Pompey,
 by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, ob-
 tained, as one of the conditions of it, *the pardon*
and restoration of all the proscribed and exiled Ro-
mans, who were then in arms with him [z].

CICERO

[y] Ep. fam. 16. 21.

[z] Appian. p. 619. 713.

CICERO therefore took his leave of Pompey, and returned to *Rome* with the rest of his party : where he lived for some time in the condition of a private Nobleman ; remote from affairs and the Court of the Emperor ; partly thro' the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles ; partly thro' choice, and his old zeal for the Republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouse his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange that he sunk into a life of indolence and pleasure, and *the intemperate love of wine* ; which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately published *a volume on the triumphs of his drinking*. Young Cicero is said to have practised it likewise to great excess ; and to have been famous for the quantity that he used to swallow at a draught : *as if he had resolved*, says Pliny, *to deprive Antony, the murderer of his Father, of the glory of being the first drunkard of the Empire* [a].

AUGUSTUS however paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a *Priest* or *Augur* [b], as well as one of those Magistrates who presided over *the coinage of the public money* : in regard to which there is a medal still extant, with the name of Cicero on the one side, and Appianus Claudius on the other ; who was one of his *Collegues* in this office [c]. But upon the last

B b 3

[a] Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit insectori patris sui, Antonio. enim ante eum avidissime prehenderat hanc palmam ; et etiam volumine de sua pietate. Plin. Hist. Nat. 22.

[b] Appian. p. 619.—
[c] Vid. And. Morell. Thesaur. Numism. inter Numm. Consul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

These superintendents of the public coinage were called *Treviri*, or *Triumviri Monetales* ;

last breach with Antony, Augustus no sooner became the sole Master of Rome, than he took him for his partner in the Consulship: so that his letters which brought the news of the victory at *Actium*, and conquest of *Egypt*, were addressed to *Cicero the Consul*; who had the pleasure of publishing them to the Senate and People; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered *all the statutes and monuments of Antony to be demolished, and that no person of his Family should ever after bear the name of Marcus*. By paying this honor to the Son, Augustus made some atonement for his treachery to the Father; and by giving the Family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it *as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young Cicero* [d]. Some honors are mentioned likewise to have

been

Monetales; and in Medals and old Inscriptions are described thus; III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is, *Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo*. Their number had always been *three*, till J. Cæsar, as it appears from several medals, enlarged it to *four*: whence in the coin of Cicero, just mentioned, we find him called, IIII. VIR. There was another Magistrate also of lower rank at Rome, called *Treviri Capitales*, who tried and judged all capital crimes among foreigners and slaves, or even

Citizens of inferior condition: in allusion to which, Cicero has a pleasant joke in one of his Letters to Trebatius, when he was attending Cæsar in his wars against the *Treviri*, one of the most fierce and warlike nations of Gaul: *I admonish you, says he, to keep out of the way of those Treviri: they are of the Capital kind, I hear: I wish rather, that they were the coiners of gold and silver.*

Ep. Fam. 7. 13.

[d] Plutar. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. Appian. p. 619. 672

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been decreed by Cicero, in *this Consulship*, to his partner Augustus; particularly an *Obsidional Crown*; which tho' made onely of *the common grass*, that happened to be found upon the scene of action, yet in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the *noblest reward of military glory*; and never bestowed but for *the deliverance of an army*, when reduced to the last distress [e]. This *Crown* therefore had not been given above *eight times* from the foundation of *Rome*: but with the oppression of its liberty, all its honors were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning Monarch.

SOON after Cicero's Consulship, he was made *Proconsul of Asia*; or, as Appian says, of *Syria*; one of the most considerable Provinces of the Empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in history. He died probably soon after, before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the counsils of the state: but from the honors already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemish'd by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity: and amidst all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained *his Father's wit and politeness* [f].

B b 4

THERE

[e] Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nuncquam nisi in desperatione summa contigit ulli; nisi ab universo exercitu servato decretum—eadem vocatur Obsidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi gramine, decerpto inde ubi obsessos servasset aliquis—Ip-

sum Augustum cum M. Cicerone Consulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus Obsidionalis donavit, &c. vid. Plin. Hist. N. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

[f] Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

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THERE are two stories related of him, which shew that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with some friends, where he had drunk very hardy in the heat of wine and passion, *he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa*; who, next to Augustus, bore the chief sway in *Rome* [g]. He was provoked to it probably by some dispute in politics, or insult on the late champions, and vanquish'd cause of the Republic. At another time, during his government of *Asia*, one Cestius, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his Father, having the assurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and understood that *it was the man who used to insult the memory of his Father, and declare that he knew nothing of polite letters*, ordered him to be taken away and publicly whipt [h].

HIS nature seems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory; to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age, that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had served with much honor to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history; of *Pharsalia*, *Philippi*, and *Sicily*. If his life therefore did not correspond with the splendor of his Father's, it seems chargeable to his misfortune, rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his Father's honors.

[g] Marcoque Agrippæ a
temulento scyphum impa-

Sum. Plin. Hist. N. 14. 22
[h] M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

of the imitation of his virtues: but if he had liv'd in better times, and a free Republic, tho' he would not have been so eminent a Scholar, or Orator, or Statesman as his Father, yet he would have excell'd him probably in that character, which conferr'd a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplish'd General.

THE Characters of Q. Cicero, the brother, of his Son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been so frequently touched in the course of this History, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the sea, and returned to Rome; in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to Macedonia. They hoped to have executed this, before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed at least for a short time in the City, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions, that they had received to make sure of the Cicero's, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety: upon his refusal to discover, where his Father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the Father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than *that they would dispatch the first of the two*. The son urged the petition, *to spare him the misery of being the*

the spectator of his Father's murder; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the same time [i].

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet, that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been observed of him, that he was a perfect Master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private ease and safety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription: he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time; but without any great reason; for, as if he had foreseen such an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and, in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of *Italy*, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services *to his friends at Rome*; and above all, *to his wife and children*; whom he assisted, not onely with his advice, but *with his money also*, on all occasions of their distress: so that when Antony came to *Rome*, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out Atticus; and no sooner learnt where he was, *than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to him immediately; and assigned him a guard, to protect him from any insult or violence of the soldiers* [k].

[i] Dio. p. 333. Appian. 601. Plutar. in Cic.

[k] Atticus, cum Cicero-
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IT must be imputed likewise to the same principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his safety, that after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are *sixteen books* of Cicero's still remaining, yet not a *single Letter* of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a singular care; left in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they should ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new Masters.

BUT his interest with the reigning powers was soon established on a more solid foundation, than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with M. Agrippa; which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Augustus, whose Minister and Favorite Agrippa was; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his *Grandaughter* with his successor Tiberius [1]. Thus he added dignity to his quiet;

res ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit—
[1] Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [ibid. 12.] Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam, Tibero Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit. Ib. 19.

—præsidium ei misit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici. x.

[1] Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [ibid. 12.] Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam, Tibero Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit. Ib. 19.

quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wished; happy and honorable; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives, in the fame and memory of ages, is intirely owing to the circumstance, of his having been Cicero's friend: for this, after all, was the chief honor of his life: and, as Seneca truly observed, *it was the Epistles of Cicero, which preserved him from oblivion; and neither his son Agrippa, nor Grandson Tiberius, nor great Grandson Drusus, would have been of any service to him, if Cicero's name, by drawing Atticus's along with it, had not given him an immortality [m].*

[m] Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis Epistolæ non sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa, & Tiberius progener, & Drusus prone-

pos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset. Senec. Ep. 21.

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